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# THE CANADIAN RAILROADER



IF I WERE AN EMPLOYER

*By Samuel Gompers*

SOCIALISM'S RELATION TO THE BRITISH  
LABOR MOVEMENT

OTTAWA, LONDON AND SCOTTISH LETTERS

*From Our Own Correspondents.*

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# The Railroad Labor Board

(By WILLIAM L. CHENEY in  
*The Survey, New York*)

The wisdom of Congress in dealing with the railroad labor situation is now being put to the test. The Transportation act — the Esch-Cummins law — provided among other things for a Railroad Labor Board. This was designed to be the ultimate dispenser of peace and contentment to workers on the railroads. Before the board was appointed, however, sporadic strikes appeared and when the board finally met it was confronted with a situation which might well have bankrupted the resources of a well-established agency. What it will be able to achieve under such a preliminary handicap will accordingly indicate faithfully, even though drastically, the soundness of the existing railroad law.

Previous Congresses have evinced no great genius for dealing with the industrial problems of the railroads. We have in fact had a record of thirty-two years of failure seasoned with hardly mediocre success. In 1888 the first arbitration act for the railroads was passed. This was never used for arbitration purposes. The occasion when its powers were invoked was that following the Pullman strike. Then President Cleveland availed himself of the opportunity provided by the act to make an investigation although he made no efforts to bring about arbitration. The inquiry conducted by the late Carroll D. Wright and others led to the conclusion that the strikers had just grounds for complaint. The strike, however, had long since been broken by the use of federal troops and of a federal court and in consequence the verdict was of interest chiefly to subsequent commentators. Certainly the strikers were not benefited.

With that one partial exception the Arbitration act of 1888 was a dead letter. It was succeeded by the Erdman act of 1898. Under this the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the commissioner of labor were made mediators. Either the railroads or their employees might call upon these officials when a strike appeared to be imminent. The Erdman act was almost unnoted during the first few years after its passage. Then for about five years it was frequently used in relatively minor affairs. Its insufficiency became so obvious, however, that Congress created the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation on July 15, 1913. The board also settled a number of controversies but by 1916 the members of the four larger railroad brotherhoods had lost confidence in it. Then came the eight-hour controversy and the Adamson law. The War and the Railroad Administration intervened. When the Transportation act was being drafted last winter Congress very frankly accepted the fact that the Board of Mediation and Concilia-

tion was obsolete but a certain tenderness for existing institutions and office holders prevented the complete abolition of the 1913 board.

This record of ineffectual law-making is the background of the present Railroad Labor Board. Past failure does not of course argue the impossibility of success in this field. On the contrary it ought to indicate the lines of future success. The failures of the Arbitration act of 1888, of the Erdman act, of the Board of Mediation and Conciliation were due to numerous causes. The act of 1888 in the judgment of Charles P. Neill, then commissioner of labor, provided compulsory arbitration. It lay dormant on the statute books ten years. Compulsion, apparently, therefore, is

not the key to success in industrial peace-making. The subsequent systems up to the Railroad Administration have been voluntary and while they have been used more frequently they have broken down at the time of the crisis. From the standpoint of industrial peace the Railroad Administration alone was highly successful. Its concessions in wages were not so great as those in other industries such as steel but it elicited the cooperation of the workers. No previous industrial agency had consistently done that.

This is the goal which must be captured by the Railroad Labor Board. G. W. W. Hangar, Henry Hunt and R. M. Barton represent the public on that board of nine. Hangar is a veteran federal employee. He has served

in the old Bureau of Labor, in the Board of Mediation and Arbitration and in the Railroad Administration. Hunt is a reformer in politics without conspicuous industrial experience. A. O. Wharton, James J. Forrester, and Albert Phillips are the labor members. Wharton was a member of the Board of Wages and Working Conditions under the Railroad Administration. He was also president of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor. The labor members are notably identified with the Washington headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. In no sense of the word are they spokesmen for the insurgents in the railroad brotherhoods. The railroad members are Horace Baker, J. H. Elliott and William L. Park.

At this writing none of the organizations which sprang up after the strikes occurred have been hospitably received by these nine men composing the Railroad Labor Board. The impromptu organizations which appealed to the board were denied hearings although the Transportation act specifically states that the Labor Board "upon a written petition signed by not less than 100 unorganized employees or subordinate officials directly interested in the dispute... shall receive for hearing and as soon as practicable and with all due diligence decide, any dispute involving grievances, rules or working conditions." By this refusal to hear the insurgents the board evidently assumed that the railroad strikes were passing tempests. They took the ground that the well organized unions were able, despite the insurgency, to speak faithfully the state of mind of the railroad workers. Perhaps the board was sagacious in its judgment. If so a difficult task will have been ably performed. If on the other hand the nine members of the new board erred in estimating the seriousness of the existing revolt against the officers of the labor unions, they will have added one more failure to a long list.

Meantime, however, the Railroad Labor Board is hearing the wage demands formulated by the officials of the regular unions. Increases from 25 to 50 per cent have been asked. In accordance with the Transportation act seven "relevant circumstances" must be considered in determining reasonable wages. These are:

1. The scales of wages paid for similar kinds of work in other industries;
2. The relation between wages and the cost of living;
3. The hazard of the employment;
4. The training and skill required;
5. The degree of responsibility;
6. The character and the regularity of the employment;
7. Inequalities of increases in wages or of treatment, the result of previous wage orders or adjustments.

A number of these "relevant circumstances" were written into the act with knowledge of the irritation which then existed among certain classes of railroad workers because of the inequalities of wage increases during the war period. To that extent for the present at any rate the work of the board has been rendered easier by Congress.

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## OUR LONDON LETTER

(From our own Correspondent.)

London, April 30th.

We are on the eve of May Day as I write. British Labor is about to signalize its belief in and enthusiasm for international solidarity after a fashion never before attempted.

Millions of workers will take holiday, some by willing or reluctant consent of the employers, and some without it. All the land over are to be demonstrations indoor and outdoor, and every Labor speaker of standing, with hundreds who have yet to make their mark, will be preaching the gospel of Labor's needs and opportunity.

The whole of the building trades are closing down. Most of the textile workers will be absent from the mills. All the miners in South Wales and many in other coalfields are to cease work for the day.

For the first time the Co-operative movement is taking part, and in London alone more than 120 of the societies' shops will be closed. There will be practically a general stoppage of all those engaged in factories and workshops. The Liverpool branch of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union has decided that all its members shall stop work, but in the main there is a desire not to bring about any national dislocation, and the vital public services, such as the railways, will not be affected.

The stoppage has the support of Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party, and it will certainly be a record Labor Day.

Eight great processions are to start from different points in London to-morrow morning and meet on the Embankment at 1.30. There are to be bands, scores of trade union banners and more than 200 decorated vehicles from the co-operative societies. Many vanloads of children will be a feature of the procession.

There was to have been a May Queen, but this idea has been dropped. Contingents of agricultural laborers are coming from Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Wiltshire.

The combined procession is to leave the Embankment at two o'clock for Hyde Park, where there will be 12 platforms, with six speakers on each. At 4.30 a resolution will be put demanding drastic steps for bringing down the cost of living, a general 44-hour week, the withdrawal of the new tax on co-operative societies, and the granting of self-determination to Ireland, following the withdrawal of troops.

There will be a huge demonstration that night in the Albert Hall, London's biggest meeting place.

We are being treated in London at the moment to another of those weird exhibitions of mid-Victorianism which crowd up now and again. The shop assistants at John Lewis's drapery establishment, one of our large West End stores, are on strike to obtain:

Freedom to leave the shop during mealtimes.

The appointment of a committee of control over the living-in conditions, against which there is no complaint, but in the determining of which it is claimed the assistants should have a voice.

Security of employment and freedom from the dread of dismissal at a moment's notice.

Now the proprietor of this emporium, John Lewis, is in many respects a charming old man of 84, who stepped straight out of the pages of Dickens and cannot realize that the twentieth century has come. There is no dispute as to wages, because he does not treat his people badly in this respect. But he has all the old time patriarchal idea that he is the feudal lord of every one in his employ and none must say him nay. Consequently he issues leaflets to "My young men and maidens", as he calls them, inveighing against "these accursed trade unionists" who are attempting, according to his view, to undermine his authority.

He does the quaintest things and London is laughing at him; he is really a relic and monument of the past which is just as much a joy as a disturbance to anyone with a sense of humor.

It is rather an amazing strike, because it is being carried on without the slightest illwill on either side. It is merely a tussle between youth and age, the modern spirit and the mediaeval.

Negotiations have at last been opened in the cotton dispute. The men want from 60 to 75 per cent. increase in wages, knowing that the cotton lords have been piling up huge profits and for a long time

there was a complete deadlock. Now, however, we hope that a way out may be found and that an offer may be made which the men will find worth accepting.

Railway matters remain much as they were. The application of the National Union for \$5 a week advance comes before the Central Wages Board next week and the other union, that in which are the engineers, want increases varying according to grade from \$1.85 to \$5. A few of the local "vigilance committees", which the rank and file have formed up and down the country to watch the officials as much as the Government threaten to "work to rule" until the demands are granted, but at the moment

there is more talk than anything else about it.

Chances of a gas strike continue to intensify. The unions which cater for the gas workers have sanctioned a ballot and the National Federation of General Workers is sending the papers out. The men want \$2.50, a week more. The companies and municipal undertakings put their hands on the places where their hearts would be if they had any and declare by all that is holy they will be ruined if they pay it. The men say that is no concern of theirs; they can't live without that \$2.50, and they mean to get it. If there is a strike we shall have it in about a fortnight's time.

Ethelbert Pogson.



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"The parties to this pact realize that the interests sought to be reconciled herein ordinarily tend to pull apart, but they enter into this agreement in the faith that by the exercise of a cooperative and constructive spirit it will be possible to bring and keep them together. This will involve as an indispensable prerequisite the suppression of the militant spirit by both parties and the development of reason instead of force as the rule of action. It will require, also mutual consideration and concession and a willingness on the part of each party to regard and serve the interests of the other for the common good. With this attitude assured it is believed no differences can arise which this machinery cannot mediate and resolve in the interest of cooperation and harmony."

This is a paragraph from the preamble to an agreement entered into recently between four silk ribbon manufacturers in New York city and the weavers in their employ who are members of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. Strange words are those coming as they do into the endorsement of an organization reputed to be "radical", but stranger still are the words which immediately follow:

"Public interest requires increasing production as a prime factor in reducing commodity prices. Wages, hours and working conditions should be regulated by this requirement."

Neither weavers nor employers should restrict output, the statement continues, nor should the union endeavor to injure the employer, nor the employer to injure the union. Such action on either side is to constitute a violation of the agreement.

The agreement then proceeds to outline the detailed plan by which these principles are to be put into effect. There is to be a trade council consisting of six representatives of the workers, not more than two of whom may be officers of the union not actually employed, and six representatives of the employers. This is the legislative and judicial body under the agreement. The council is to employ an impartial chairman, who has very extensive powers, including the fixing of wages, in accordance with the principles laid down in the agreement, the disciplining of either employers or employees who violate the agreement, the promulgation of new rules and the settlement of disputes which fail of settlement either in the shop where they arise or in the trade council.

In any action that he may take the impartial chairman is required to consider the necessity of production. Any rulings regarding compensation "must provide for deductions of pay for any failure to accomplish fair production on the part of the individual weaver." Nor may the chairman issue an order which "permits decreasing production or fails to guarantee fair production." If by accident he issues such an order it is to be immediately revoked and rectified. The agreement also provides that every wage scale

"shall be accompanied by a scale of production and shall not be increased or decreased during the manufacturing season."

Another unique feature of this agreement is the power given to the impartial chairman (significantly designated at one point as the "imperial chairman") to discipline a worker who works irregularly. If his reasons for not coming to work are not considered good the impartial chairman may order his membership in the union cancelled, and in addition his local may be fined. The impartial chairman also has authority over the initiation fees and dues of the union, and if he finds that these are high enough to "deter weavers from joining the union" he may order them modified.

This agreement was worked out in March, while a strike was in progress for the abolition of piece rates and a flat time rate of \$40 and \$45 a week, respectively, for the two classes of weavers. In the agreement as signed on April 10, an advance in wages of 7½ per cent was granted on piece work and a similar increase in time rates. The impartial machinery described was set up, and through it a final determination regarding wages will be reached. Production engineers will be hired to look into the question of a proper basis of compensation. The union is recognized on the basis of a preferential union shop. The right of discharge is retained by the em-

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ployers, but any weaver who has been employed more than two weeks may appeal to the impartial chairman, who has full powers of reinstatement.

The expense of maintaining the machinery of investigation and adjustment is borne equally by the union and the employers, with the interesting exception that all fines imposed on the union are credited on the account of the amounts to be paid to the general

fund by the employers, and vice versa. Each party is to pay into the general fund the sum of \$2,500 immediately upon the taking of office by the impartial chairman, and it is understood that the total expense of maintaining the joint machinery may approximate \$15,000 a year. "This will mean a great saving," said Morris L. Ernst, who has represented the employers in drawing up the plan, and who is now serving as temporary impartial chairman of the trade council, although Charles B. Barnes, assistant director of the Federal Employment Service for New York state during the war, has recently been appointed permanent chairman. Mr. Ernst made the statement that in the past nine months the New York local unions concerned in the agreement have spent fully \$30,000 fighting the employers. He emphasized the fact that the plan genuinely represents the desires of the rank and file of the weavers concerned. The agreement was ratified in a secret vote by the members of the locals. That is, each individual cast a secret ballot for or against its acceptance. The result was a vote of 292 for the agreement and 27 against it. The agreement also is signed not only by an official of each local but by three representatives of the weavers in each shop. "It can't be said that this is something that has been put over by the union leaders," said Mr. Ernst.

With regard to the encouragement of production, while the plan is patterned after those in effect in the clothing trade, according to Mr. Ernst, it goes farther in this regard than any of them.

In judging of the significance of this agreement it should further be noted that the Amalgamated Textile Workers is the organization which a short time ago, on the account of its radical tendencies, was judged by the authorities of Passaic, New Jersey, to be unfit to be allowed to hold meetings.

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## Whitley Councils Favored by Unions

**British Workers Are, on the Whole, Agreeable to Their Continuance—Complaints Are Limited to a Few Councils.**

London, England. — The National Federation of General Workers met in conference in London recently, to discuss the methods employed in obtaining wage decisions by means of Whitley councils. The president, J. R. Clynes, M.P., was in the chair, and his opening address observed that at the inception of Whitley councils he was a member of what was known as the Whitley Committee, when men and women of diverse views were able to agree to recommend the scheme of Whitley councils to the whole trade union movement.

There were in the Labor movement people who did not favor any kind of coming together on the part of the employers and employed, but they were mostly people with no trade union work to do. As long as the existing system prevailed, many of them held that it was up to them to make the best of it, and completely change it for a better. He looked upon the headway made in connection with the joint industrial councils as denoting a very remarkable advance in the sphere of industrial conciliation.

### Faults Recognized

He agreed that there were blemishes in the workings of the council. Some of the big trade unions preferred their organizations to the machinery of industrial councils, and

although these large organizations could perhaps afford to set aside the machinery of the industrial councils and secure what they thought they were entitled to by the ordinary methods of trade unions, there were 3,000,000 wage earners outside these organizations covered by the Joint Industrial Council. On the other hand, there were some who refused to recognize the council because they said it was a trafficking with the capitalist system. He, himself, maintained that they should come down to the actualities of life.

One point they had to note was that these joint material councils tended to become very costly machinery for trade unions — costly in two senses: first, in money charges which they had imposed on trade unions, and, secondly, because of the enormous amount of time they required from the active executive heads and the responsible administrative officials. He wished the employers who took part in those industrial councils had made it more possible for the rank and file of the workers to play their part in them.

### No Guarantee Given.

Trade unions had not been given an opportunity of a guarantee that if they did take an active part in the councils, they would be free from risk and that they would not incur the displeasure of their superiors. They desired that those who had to direct and help to shape the policy and settle the big questions in relation to Labor and trade union affairs should be left free to do that work, and that the workers should be permitted to take their proper part on those industrial councils and workshop committees.

The objection has been raised to these councils that there had been

a tendency, started and developed by a number of employers' representatives, to cause the councils to act, not as supplementary to trade union machinery, but to act in a way to supplant and to put the trade unions in a very subordinate position, although the Whitley report made it clear that there was no intention of that kind; and laid it down that the councils should not interfere with the ordinary work of trade unions in serving the interests of their members.

### Need For Removing Defects.

There had been a tendency among some employers to acquire for the councils, powers it was never intended they should have. Proposals had been recently made for establishing associations among these joint councils, action which tended to deprive trade unions of their rightful powers, a method of interference the trade unions would not stand. Therefore they had called that conference, not in any hostility to the Whitley councils, but to have an interchange of opinion and to try to seek out and locate the defects of the existing system and to remove them.

Trade unions were called in to take part in the joint industrial councils, and they had done so in a real feeling of desire to co-operate with the employers in order to adjust differences. The executive had no cut-and-dried scheme to put before them for discussion, but they were to decide, as a matter of policy whether they, as representing the affiliated unions, were in favor of continuing to associate with the councils which were set up under the "Whitley" report. The conference then proceeded to discuss in camera the following questions:

### Questions Discussed in Camera:

(1) Are the affiliated unions in favor of continuing to associate with councils set up under the "Whitley" report? If the conference decides in the affirmative, directions are required on the following matters:

(2) Must all affiliated unions interested in a particular industry contribute to the "Whitley council" for that industry?

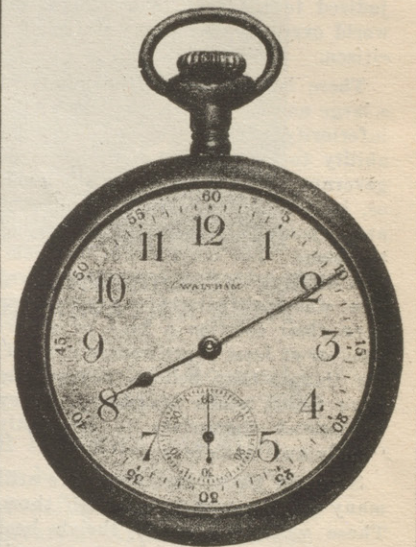
(3) Any decision of a "Whitley council" re wages, hours and other matters, on which any affiliated unions are represented to be immediately notified to the federation offices.

(4) The general secretary of the federation to countersign any agreement come to on behalf of the affiliated unions by a "Whitley council."

(5) Federation executive to nominate a representative on each such "Whitley council."

At the conclusion of the conference, Mr. Clynes, the President, stated that the discussion showed that the representatives were on the whole favorable to the continuance of the joint industrial councils, and that complaints were limited to a few particular councils, dealing with certain trades.

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## Woman: A Citizen

(By Ethel Lenore Gnaedinger)

TO many minds, both masculine and feminine, the idea of woman as a citizen is repugnant. The thought of woman entering the arena of affairs is distasteful to them. This bias may come from either a strongly conventionalistic or a strongly idealistic trend of thought. The biased minds may be thus roughly divided into two camps, — conventionalists and idealists — with a third and added feminine division.

For the purpose of this article it may be well to make a brief analysis of these divisions, and then touch upon a few far-reaching reforms that would reconcile even the most prejudiced to the fact that woman, the world over, is holding the status of a citizen.

There is even yet in the minds of a large number of men, the idea of the inferiority of woman, — of her inability to cope with the problems of government, municipal or federal; or, indeed, any of the problems that are beyond the immediate sphere of the home. The magnificent and complex difficulties that press about these men, who feel that they bring to bear upon their solution a kind of superman, or at least super-woman instinct, are things, they believe, beyond the mere finite minds of women. They understand themselves to be justly "lords and masters".

Stranger than this: there are still many women who agree with them. These women seem to thrive best under the type of "lord and master" dominion. In this particular group the women are in nowise idealists. They may have lived under the example of a subjugated mother whose main thesis of life was the belief that, essentially, the destiny of her sex was to bear children, and all other labor incidental to the rearing of them and the care of the home. This usually did not leave any time in which to dream of a wider sphere. A background of this nature, unless it stirs some sensitive child to the intensity of revolt against servitude and monotony, is one from which it is difficult for a well-disciplined being to break away. There is, nevertheless, something about it unduly Pauline and Biblical for the complexities and economic pressures of a twentieth century era. It is unnecessary to say that many of the women who follow this lead are of the highly conscientious, if tame, type. Their unthought-out theory of life is to begin where their mothers began and end where their mothers ended and carrying the race curve higher in the spiral of human destiny would seem a test too great even in thought. In the sweep of modern events this traditionalism seems bound to become obsolete. There is, after all, an imperious force of events that sometimes rough-hews our destiny, no matter how we shape our ends. It may not be quite fair to call these women who are lacking in progressive thought unintelligent women, but

they are certainly open to the charge of over-traditionalism.

Again, there is another class of women too stupid, too lethargic, or too crushed to do anything else but subscribe to the over-lord autocracy. In these cases the man who exercise such absolutism upon those unfortunate enough to fall under their power are either selfish or cruel — or, perhaps, both at once. This strangle-hold vice is a result of the primitive instinct of possession. The authority of these men is a kind of labor-saving device that spares them the trouble of thinking inside the home. It safeguards them from the

But staggering singly 'neath the load  
Of a half a thought per mind."

This is a two-in-one method of melancholy mating that would seem anachronistic; or, at least, an out-of-date combination for the vital needs of a vivid and restless moment.

In opposition to these two classes are the men and women of high idealism who, in the face of facts of a very stern and concrete kind, by a form of self-hypnosis sweep all reality from their minds, and insist upon dwelling in the sweet-scented nebulosities of dreams and dreamed-of chivalries and poetic ideals.

The men of this class shrink from the thought that their women should be contaminated by contact with the world. They would protect woman

be burned on the funeral pyre of their dead lord. Needless to say the variety is not indigenous to the West, — but in rare instances they are to be found. These women fulfill the canons of "the perfect daughters, the perfect wives, and perfect mothers, after the severely disciplined, self-sacrificing, Hindu ideal, the ideal also of Solomon and Sophocles, and of St. Paul and St. Augustine; remaining modestly at home as the proper sphere of their duties."

The parasitical woman, on the other hand, loves the decorative niche because she loves the luxury of being set up and worshipped. She detests vulgar activity, and likes to be wrapped about with dangling masculine effusions. She reveals in the abjectly worshipful, and toys with life as she toys with emotions and her spaniel. She shudders at the arena of affairs. She rebels at the vulgar thought that there is any world outside her own perfumed sphere.

Apart from all these man-owned women is a third class, — the class of young, and not so young, unowned ones. Many of these have protective homes and do not venture beyond their homes in the scope of their ideas. Because of their own protection they do not realize the needs of the great army of unprotected ones. This army of unprotected women are the lonely army — the vast numbers who toil for a home, who are neither over-lorded nor sanctified by niches of exclusion. The safe-guarded woman knows nothing of the driving pressures that make the wage-earning woman in general opposed to the masculine and feminine minds to whom woman as a citizen is repugnant. The stresses that urge the workers make the toiling wage-earners keenly alive to the arena of affairs, and the need to express themselves as the beings that they are: active citizens in an active citizen world.

If this world were what it certainly is not, a Utopia, it might be a beautiful thing if the East Indian would be very glad to take their idea could prevail. Some women would be very glad to take their place in such a world — if there were ideal men! Not many people worthy of the name would care for the sodden traditionalist class, — and no one with any real self-respect would care for absolute static protection when so many millions cry for bread.

Although any individual is privileged to agree or disagree with the viewpoints of any of the classes enumerated, the world reckons not of individual viewpoints. We are under a system of majority rule. This majority has elected in all corners of the earth to make woman a Citizen, — that is, a person who has the privilege of voting for public officers, and who is qualified to fill offices in the gift of the people. Citizenship is a serious and responsible business and requires knowledge, — and, above all things, vision.

Originally the agitation for full rights of citizenship was waged upon "a conception of woman's rights

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a feeling of pleasure  
and contentment.*

fear of anything straying from the zealously shepherded domestic sheepfold. Their physical grip is secure: their material possessions are watched over by a cowed curator. Their women are not liable to flights of fancy (a thing always disturbing to the possessive masculine mind), — or to other flights less abstract! A witty modernist, in one of the sparkling American publications, classified these unfortunates in the following lines:

"Two minds with but a single thought

How often do we find,

Not walking doubly down life's road

in a kind of decorative niche, from where she would minister unto their need for solace and beauty. In this they would contrive a companionship at once subtle and detached from the ugly clangors of modern life.

The woman who come willingly under the sway of this alluring and hashish type of existence are of two kinds: the "trailing arbutus" family and the parasite. The "trailing arbutus" variety are the extremely idealistic class, — the mystics and sensitive dreamers — by no means lacking in passion, but clinging to the East Indian viewpoint of male lordship. These are of the "suttee" women; those who would willingly



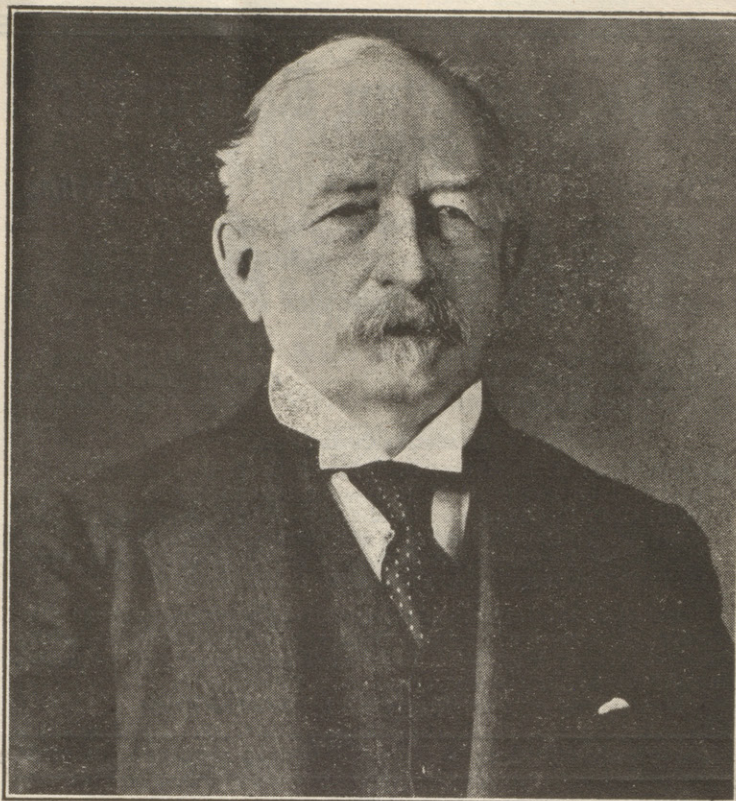
which most closely concerned the abnormal woman — the woman who, either by choice or through circumstances was unmarried, and who, consequently, had to make her own way in the world — to care for her own property, to force her way into some profession, or to earn her daily bread by working for wages." We all know the said shibboleths, the dolorous declamations of those who foresaw the end of civilized life, — the desolation and desecration of all domesticity if women were endowed with the vote. As a point of fact, before this freedom was conferred, the much-bewailed domestic sanctity has fallen to the estate of a doormat upon which each member of the household had the courtesy to pay passing tribute by wiping his or her feet before going further afield in search of something more interesting or congenial. The disintegration of home life became fairly well advanced before women were made the trustees of citizenship. We may thank heaven, if this had to come, that it happened before and not after the event. Had this not been the case to what limits might the denunciations of prophets and antis have gone?

The suffrage movement of the twentieth as opposed to the nineteenth century was the newer suffrage. It was closely associated with the demand of the woman within the home — the home-maker — to devolve her duty. With the rapid development of a perhaps unwise society this became an urgent need. Knowledge grew apace. Science discovered and proclaimed undreamed of truths in the evolution of the race, — and the scientific handling of everything from the milk bottle to the grave imposed needs that no single sex and no entirely masculine ballot could contrive.

Woman as a citizen has an almost unlimited power. She must apply herself earnestly to the absorbing of knowledge relative to the needs of herself and her children. With this knowledge she will be able to demand of her representatives who go to Parliament an enlightened platform

that militate against her own health, happiness, or efficiency, and the health, happiness, and efficiency of the community at large. She must bring to the forefront the outstanding members of her sex, gifted with logical thought, informed minds and "the power of tongues" to directly represent her and the community's needs in the legislative bodies of the country.

With enterprise and organization she could finance and operate a chain of "co-operatives" throughout Canada. In a city like Montreal this is a scheme that would be little short of a godsend, and it has often been a matter of wonder to the writer why a few intelligent women of capital, or the power to command capital, did not enter upon this plan of co-operative stores that would remove so much of the dreadful pressure of living. This would be a mode of salvation that would reduce in more ways than one. With stores where commodities were purchasable at prices within reach, and where the purchaser had a direct interest in the enterprise, the dizzy array of social service activities and philanthropies might shrink to something within the compass of the community. There would be fewer broken-down middle-aged people in hospitals and lunatic asylums, and fewer crushed young wage earners, if food and the essentials of clothing were brought within their means. Sickness may be terrible and death may seem terrible, — but there is nothing so hideously terrible as the interminable vista of struggle and denial of actual needs that stretches before mankind, stricken with the impossible solution of giving six cents the purchasing power of fifteen. Penurious middle-age with the prospect of helpless and poverty-stricken old-age is what strikes terror and makes the heart of the strangest run cold. Co-operatives well managed would save many a fine man and woman from such a prospect. If women with means at their command fail to rise to such an occasion, the vote of women in general could secure a governmental pledge to run co-opera-



**LORD SHAUGHNESSY AND  
THE SALVATION ARMY**

Montreal,  
April 17th, 1920.

DEAR GENERAL DODDS,—

In its broad philanthropy and all-embracing scope, the work of the Salvation Army for humanity's sake is marvellous.

I wish the Army continued success.

Yours very truly,  
(Signed) Shaughnessy.

Brig.-Gen. W. O. H. Dodds,  
120 St. James St.,  
Montreal.

tives that would return to the subscribers in dividends anything over operating expenses. A paternalism of this kind would be something worth subjecting to.

Another reform that women could urge and attain is the opening of nurseries in all the crowded quarters of the city where trained workers would when necessary relieve tired and overburdened women of their young children. Such nurseries are operating in England now, and there is every reason why they should be operating here. Until these things could be organized the government should, at least, compel churches, which are untaxed property, to throw open the Sunday Schools or any large halls owned by them, for one or two afternoons a week. On these afternoons mothers could be relieved of very young children who would be cared for by trained social service workers, either voluntarily or as paid nurses. Indeed, the churches should commence their generosity at once, and as a very crude beginning infants could be taken in their perambulators, and left in security while the mothers enjoyed a few hours of suitable recreation and relief from continuous demands. On the days when halls were opened to the children lectures could be held in the district, under social service or other agencies, giving the women opportunity for instruction in hygiene, or civics, or election and voting procedure, or any of the countless subjects that will elevate woman to the finest development as a mother and the highest development as a woman.

Another measure for which the vote of women could bear splendid results is the installing in less fortunate districts of governmental kitchens where cooks would prepare and serve such commodities as are required for the main meal of the

day. From these community kitchens women with large or small families could, at just such prices as would ensure operating expenses, obtain hot soups, stews or fish and other meats, beans and nourishing vegetables, with plain milk puddings for those who did not require or could not afford the meat dishes. The comestibles could be sold in covered tins, for which a slight charge might be levied to ensure return, and children could carry the provisions home to women who were unable to leave the house and to whom a prepared meal would make the difference between slavery and comparative freedom. If these kind of reforms were enacted by parliament, humanity might begin to see some hope for the solution of the dire muddle into which it has worked itself.

In your hands, women, lies the possibility of carrying the race a curve higher in the spiral of human destiny and of unfolding to a splendid achievement the modern type of woman: A Citizen.

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## It's Up to Borden

TO turn from the spectacle of some newspapers pinning angel wings on the dear little cherubs of the Government in relation to the budget proposals and other affairs, and have a look at what the Government has not done in the matter of an ordinary, sensible thing like a scientific, advisory Tariff Board, is doubtless a rude thing to do, but as several millions of Canadian people are interested in one way and another, more or less acutely, perhaps the rudeness may be forgiven.

Eventually, of course, the present Government or its successor will adopt the idea of a Tariff Board as repeatedly outlined in these columns; there is no other way out of the interminable tangle of the free traders and the high protectionists, no other non-class, non-sectional way of reaching any basis of understanding and fair agreement in a fiscal policy of a country like this or the United States. Eventually, but, as the poster says, why not now?

When Sir Robert Borden came back from his long rest it was expected of him that he would, if not clean out the stable, at least let in some fresh air and swat a few of the flies. After all, Sir Robert is less of a political opportunist and more of an earnest democrat than some of his gang. He would probably be disposed, personally, to consider the people, and, disposed thus, it would follow that he would be disposed to adopt the plan of the Tariff Board asked for in clear and unmistakable terms by both Labor and Capital and by other interests of the people.

Now along comes a supposed sop from the Government in the shape of a perambulating commission to run up a bill of costs in the taking of tariff "evidence" in the old way. The thing is not a sop; it is a positive irritant. Who or what induced the Premier to consent to anything less than the scientific, non-partisan investigation?

At least sixteen hundred labor organizations and thousands of manufacturers want a Tariff Board on the lines dealt with in this paper, and have so informed the Government. If they cannot

get a fair thing by asking for it, they are liable to turn to other constitutional means at hand which will focus the attention of the Government whether it likes it or not. There is still time for Sir Robert to play the game. Will he play it?

K. C.

## Same Old Humbug

A SPECIAL feature of the "Press Congress of the World" at Sydney, Australia, on October 20th of this year, is to be the "Pan-Britannic Conference of Working Journalists," according to official announcements. It is further announced that the following organizations of working journalists have been asked to send representatives:—"British National Union of Journalists, Australian Journalists' Association, New Zealand Journalists' Association, South African Union, the Canadian bodies and, as a special act of courtesy, the recently-formed American Journalists' Association."

Here we have newspaper publishers ringing the changes on the same old game. They want to give a journalistic air to their gatherings, and they think they can bluff the old bluffs. All the organizations named, except one, are bonafide unions of journalists but no one tells us whether they have accepted the invitation. The one exception is the "recently-formed American Journalists' Association," invited "as a special act of courtesy," and tolerably certain to accept the invitation, as it is a direct growth of the effort to smash a journalists' union in St. Louis. One may wonder where it will get all the money and the leisurely working journalists needed to represent it in far-off Australia; and one almost sees the shadow of the publisher in the background.

"The Canadian bodies," you will observe, have also been invited. There are two "Canadian bodies" of working journalists. The invitations must have gone astray in the mails, as neither body has received them nor has any official knowledge of the "Press Congress of the World". There is a rumor, however, that some Canadian and other publishers attending the Empire Press Conference here will go on to the Congress in Australia. So there you are. Same old game of fooling the dear peepul, but it doesn't fool the real working journalists, anyway, and the day is almost here when it can no longer be depended on to fool the dear peepul either.

Journalists' unions now exist in Canada, the United States, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, France, Italy, Spain, Belgium and Holland. Their combined membership exceeds 12,000, which is "some" membership when one reflects how few journalists there are even in large cities. Practically all these unions are in communication, and serious discussion is taking place of the idea of an International Federation of working journalists. Speed the day!

K. C.

## A Budget Blunder

THE budget proposal of a fifty per cent tax on gold plate for household use suggests other excellent methods of raising money along the same lines. What were our legislators thinking of when they ignored the obvious advantage of extending the tax to other luxuries such as silver-plated mouse-traps, gilt-edged ash sifters, "period" frying pans, diamond-studded door knobs and crepe de chine dish towels?

With sufficient imagination, it can be imagined that the whole war debt might have been wiped out by such taxation, and no possibility, either, of a "come-back" from an enraged populace. The members of the Government have shown a lamentable lack of vision in the matter, and have surely invited themselves to a kick in the pants at the next general election. The country is going to the pearl-handled bow-wows.

K. C.



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# If I Were An Employer

An Interview with SAMUEL GOMPERS

Except for one year, President of the American Federation of Labor since 1882.

By SAMUEL CROWTHER, in "System"

I asked Mr. Gompers what he would do if he were an employer — how he would manage the varied problems that confront the average open-minded employer — the man who wants to be fair. That is, I asked Mr. Gompers to step into the shoes of an employer. His answers are surprising — they differ totally from the usual conception of the union relation. I have studied industrial relations with considerable care and for a long time, but never before have seen unionist principles so clearly stated in the simple terms of everyday business affairs.

1. Would you have the relation between you, as an employer, and your employees personal or purely one of the bargain and sale through a collective agreement, or would you endeavor to have both?

"I regard the human equation as the largest concern of business and I think that the only way to acquire the truly personal relation on a man-to-man basis is to arrange the basic hours and pay through a bargain with a responsible union body, for then there is no question of goodness on the part of the employer or of contentment on the part of the employee. The parties meet as buyers and sellers

on a level plane and because each has something that the other wants there is no reason on earth that their bargain cannot be carried through with the same dignity, with the same mutual satisfaction, and with the same fairness of aim on the part of both sides that makes a present-day bargain between business men the beginning of a relationship.

"Nobody in these days would employ a salesman who would come back after having sold a customer and declare triumphantly, 'I did that fellow up all right. I got the best of him.' Any sales manager would discharge that salesman on the spot, for he would know that such a man would destroy and not build up trade. It is quite the same way in dealing with workers, and I am speaking not merely from a hypothetical position but as an actual employer.

"We have 100 people or so in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, all of whom are working under my general direction, and I do not think that it would be possible to have a more cordial relation than exists between us. They not only do everything I ask them to do, but they endeavor to anticipate my



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wishes in every respect and quite frequently do more than I want them to do.

"If I were an employer of general labor I should expect to bargain in the fairest possible spirit, and I believe I should receive fair service in return. Once we remove the union's suspicion of the employer and the employer's suspicion of the union, there is nothing in the world to prevent the most cordial relation — the sort of relation that we all like to have with everybody with whom we come in contact. The bargain would settle the questions of hours and wages; and with them out of the way the road would be open for truly personal contact.

"When two merchants have concluded a bargain with which both are satisfied, one or the other usually says 'Let's have luncheon' or 'Let's have dinner,' and they forget business and start to know each other. A similar condition exists in every place where wages and hours are arranged collectively and in a spirit of fairness.

It is wholly contrary to the American union spirit to have an excessive formality in the relation between the worker and the man who employs him. Such formality obtains only when both sides are suspicious. Remove that suspicion and the formality vanishes. I have acted as mediator in no end of what appeared to be disputes between employees and employers, and not once has it happened that my decision has not been only respected but deeply appreciated by both sides. And this has come about simply by removing suspicion. For instance, take the buildings trades of Boston. I acted there as mediator and I was an invited guest and speaker at their recent jubilee dinner at which the representatives of the employees and employers in this great industry participated to celebrate their renewed collective bargain. There were mutual respect and confidence.

"The interests of the employer and the employee are in no sense identical. Do not confuse that point. They have not an identity of interest, but they have a co-operation of interest — that same co-operation of interest which exists between a manufacturer and his best customer. No intelligent manufacturer will sell so much or at such a price that his customer must lose money. It is just as much his concern to see that his customer makes money as it is to see that he himself manufactures — for without the one there cannot be the other.

"Exactly this same kind of relation between the employer and the employees promotes good work and fair wages on the part of the employees and consequently a good output at a fair profit on the part of the employer. This manly relation is not possible with company unions or with an organization which ultimately depends on the will of the employer, for when the necessary independence of spirit will not be present; deference is very apt to turn into servility.

"Many employers do not recognize the psychological change that comes about through union organization. The man who does not belong to an organization is very apt to say, 'What are you going to do with the boss? He has all the money. He has all the power. What is a fellow going to do?' I have heard the feeling of impotence expressed over and over again, and because the men feel that they are impotent, the employer unless he is a remarkable man will feel much the same way, and he may be gripped by the fetish of absolute, arbitrary power. He thinks that he is the whole show.

### What Happens When Workers Organize

"The worker, on the other hand, when he organizes for the first time, usually acquires a swelling feeling of power. He begins to think that he, not the employer, is in control — that is, he gets into exactly the same attitude of mind as is shown by the absolute employer. This is a well recognized stage of union development and it is good for the men to get this feeling and for the employer to fear them just as the employees used to

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fear him, for out of the mutual fear arises in the course of time, and inevitably, the sense by both that neither is running the show all alone — and that the only way for either to get on is through co-operation. That co-operation develops the very finest possible relation in which both sides are not only fair but independent and manly.

"Therefore, as an employer, if my men were not organized, I should insist upon their organization and I should put the matter of basic wages and hours out of the way through a collective agreement and should go on promoting the true idea that we are all associates in the same enterprise but approaching from somewhat different standpoints."

2. What relation would you officially have with the union — that is, would you consult with them on business affairs that touch labor, and would you place with them for their own confidential inspection a full record of your financial transactions? In other words, would you have anything in the nature of an advisory committee composed of the union officers and the company officers?

"I should, without doubt, consult frequently with the union heads and I should put before them my financial transactions, not, however, with the

notion that whatever I have done is the best under the circumstances, but with the view of obtaining their co-operation to see if the one best way cannot be achieved. For instance, I should not ask the unions to lower their minimum standards of wages and living so that I might obtain contracts at a price lower than my competitors. It is truly unfortunate that so often an employer will enter into a contract, into a price-cutting excursion, in the hope of making the price out of his workers by lowering their wages instead of by increased operating efficiency.

"In order to obtain increased operating efficiency I should call in the union heads just as I should call in an industrial engineer, but even more frequently and on a more intimate basis. This would prevent dissatisfaction among my men by making wages always the last reduction instead of the first. I should know as an employer that high wages do not mean increased cost of production but, on the contrary, are the greatest possible incentive toward the invention of better machinery and tools in order that the worker's power may be extended to an almost indefinite degree. I should know that cheap men do not mean a cheap output. Wherever the human element is cheap

you will find the methods and means of production in the most backward condition. I should pay high wages and I should endeavor by every possible means to eliminate the wastes from my plant, and to gain the maximum of efficiency without brutal driving.

"There is an impression that the unions are against machinery, are against the better ways of doing business, are against scientific management, and in favor of stringing out every job to the greatest possible extent. That, it is true, was the attitude of the old country. It is not the attitude of the American labor movement.

"The unions at one time opposed the introduction of machinery because both the workers and the employers saw labor-saving machines not as aids to production but as substitutes for men. I am in favor of every possible mechanical device that can substitute for human labor, but if the employer looks at the machine solely as an instrument to take employment from men he is bound to fail just as are the workers who oppose the machinery because it is going to cost them their jobs. That is the short-sighted view. The workers can break the machines, and they can destroy the blueprints, but the idea remains, and if it is a good idea it will be put into force. Otherwise, we bar the economic progress of the world and encourage instead of prevent waste.

"But, looking at this question as an aid to production, it is the part of the employer to let the worker share in that profit by so expanding his business to take care of the increased output. There should be no objection to this, for increased output means more, although not a higher percentage of profit, to the employer, and it means more wages to the worker.

"A good illustration of the proper way to handle a situation of this kind was given by the printing trade. When the linotype came in, it was undoubtedly the idea of the printers to displace the hand compositors and to substitute girls. The unions met the situation fairly and so did the employers when the facts were presented to them. The employers realized that it would not be fair to throw out the men who had spent years in learning hand composition, that they were entitled to employment at decent wages, and that their skill would make the mechanical typesetters far more valuable than if the machines were regarded as substitutes and not as aids to better and more intelligent man-production. In consequence we have

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seen the whole printing trade expand perhaps a hundred times since the introduction of typesetting machines and similar devices, simply because these machines were regarded as additions to intelligence and not as substitutes for intelligence. A machine which is regarded as an addition to intelligence, as increasing the skill of the skilled man, benefits everybody. The machine which is regarded as a substitute benefits nobody — not even the man who thinks that by its purchase he is cheapening the cost of his production.

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"No matter what machine may be invented, it will be the better for being operated intelligently, and therefore I take it that it is to the advantage of the entire community to bring on every kind of labor-saving machinery, to do everything we can to extend the power of the directing hand and to consider the machine as a tool which is more economical and efficient in the skilled rather than the unskilled hand.

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"It is frequently said that there is no place for the unskilled man in the union organization and that, therefore, an employer in negotiating with unions is negotiating only with the more skilled and presumably the more intelligent labor and that this is essentially unjust to the unskilled man. It is my contention that every job is the better for bringing skill to it and that, although at one time it was correct to say that the unions found no place for the unskilled man, that is no longer true today. Not only have the more highly developed trade unions thrown open their doors to the helpers but also — and this is what so many people forget — many occupations formerly classed as unskilled become skilled through organization. Hodecarriers were certainly passed as common labor, but now they are organized and in a way skilled. Surely

the motorman of a trolley car is not to be classed as a skilled laborer if we recognize a certain distinction between skilled and unskilled more or less based upon the time required to acquire dexterity. A toolmaker is many years learning his trade, while it is a stupid man who cannot learn to run an electric car within a week, although, of course, the refinements of the job take more than a week to master. But the motormen now regard themselves as skilled.

"I should not only endeavor to have my employees organized, but I should want to have them organized in such a way that I might, as an employer, consult with their representatives on constructive policies and not confine the consultation merely to differences. This constructive side has undoubtedly been neglected. It has been neglected because the suspicion between the employer and employees has commonly been so intense as to confine their activities to watching each other. Once they get together along the lines that I have outlined and check their suspicions, then there is room for that vast amount of constructive work which will so greatly improve industry in its every phase. Fighting produces battle leaders and it may well be that the conditions surrounding union organization have produced a number of leaders who have been compelled to be militant rather than constructive. This is undoubtedly a question of circumstances and not at all of fundamentals."

3. In what manner would you regulate the number of men to be employed, the tenure of employment, and would you call upon the union to aid in effecting such a programme of production so as to avoid seasonal work and issue 12 months output — that is, continuous employment? This would involve many large questions of procedure and would include the consideration of working hours. How would you arrange the quantity and quality of the work done, the inspection of that work, and in general what the union is delivering under the collective bargain? Could you shift responsibility to the union for the delivery by the men of production rather than of mere presence?

"The answers to all of these various questions grow out of the adoption of a proper system of planning which will insure a full year's work. Seasonal work is the curse of American industry. It demoralises both the employer and the employee. The employer gets in the habit of shutting down the moment that sufficient work is not afforded and the employee is continually harassed by a feeling of uncertainty and is easily led away into the delusion that by soldiering on his job he can prolong it. Here is a point in which the interests of the employer and the employee are not in conflict and where their best brains can well be pooled to take advice with production engineers for the planning of the work in such a way as to avoid slack seasons.

"It must be said in credit of the Germans that in the greater number of their industries they did avoid seasonal work. It is to the discredit of our industry that in very few occupations is the employment at all

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constant. This is a very proper subject for the unions to co-operate upon with the employers' associations or with the individual employers — on the basis, however, that the last thing to be considered is shutting down the plant. With the growth of cost accounting, employers are beginning to realize that plant closing is a most expensive procedure, that manufacturing is not merely an adjunct to selling, and that the two have to co-ordinate and co-operate.

"It will develop that both profits and wages are too low because of the excessive waste of seasonal business. If capital and labor will only co-operate to war upon waste they will both

find it far more profitable than war-ringing upon each other. As an employer (and this is, of course, not so easy as it sounds, although I am convinced that it is not impossible) I should plan my production on a schedule, make my markets and prices accordingly, and then I should be in a position to bargain with my men on a 12-months' wage basis and abandon the chaotic and uneconomic notion of making all of my profits in six months and paying a wage based on similar principles. This would make a very great difference in the prices that I should charge, and to attain this end I should consult the union officers in order to gain that co-operative knowledge which is essential to good business, always taking as a fixed matter a minimum standard of living for those whom I employed.

"This minimum standard would necessarily follow as of course, for without it the intelligent endeavor that alone can result in the best business is impossible. I think that the fixing of standards of the amount of work and of quality of work, and inspecting to determine whether those standards are being lived up to, is peculiarly a matter for the workers in the plant, and I am in favor of committees elected by the employees as union men to take charge of these matters of detail in which a conflict of authority is so easy.

### Can Employers Expect The Unions' Co-Operation?

"I am in favor of putting more and not less responsibility upon the workers themselves and upon their union representatives. As an employer I should expect my employees to give me in return for their wages the fair value in work that we had agreed upon just as I should expect a customer to whom I sold on a fair basis to pay his bill, and am confident that such responsibility would find ready response. If this fair return was not given then I should hold the union strictly responsible, and if the local officers should be derelict in respecting that responsibility then I should go to the highest authority of the American labor movement, for neither the employer nor the union can be permitted to go back morally upon a bargain duly and fairly made, but

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with the qualification, however, that since the bargain is a human one, circumstances that alter the conditions upon which the bargain was premised may so change as to make it inequitable. There are not many buyers and sellers who insist upon their pound of flesh no matter at what cost, and if we consider wage agreements as partaking of this nature then, both sides approaching fairly, there is no good excuse for trouble. If I considered that my labor agreements had become inequitable, I should want to have them equitably revised. Nobody can reasonably expect to succeed with a cut-throat policy."

4. How would you arrange wages? Would you have a wage committee or a shop committee and would you regard the union scale as a uniform dead level or as a minimum wage for that class of work, as, for instance, in the case of piece-work? Would you arrange with the union to guarantee the union scale, paying those who exceed that scale in proportion to their excess and firing those who do not come up to the scale? This would, in effect, be to regard the union day wage as merely a guaranteed minimum and then the wage itself would be based upon performance.

"The union wage is a minimum wage and it is arrived at as being in the nature of a safeguard against paying a man of a certain skill less than a certain amount for his day. But however erroneous may be some of the opinions on the subject, wages are paid out of the production and out of nothing else. Therefore, those

who, in the name of unions, oppose the introduction of better methods of work are catering to ignorance and not to union principles.

"As an employer I should endeavor to distinguish between the union organization which is for the purpose of bettering society and those organizations which falsely call themselves unions and which exist for the avowed purpose of destroying society as we now know it and supplanting it with communism.

"I should pay my wages on performance and I should have a committee of the union with whom I could arrange the fair content of the day's work and thus guard against the danger of inhuman wage-setting.

"Pace-setting does not in the end result in higher production. When you consider the waste material and the steady deterioration of the human element through following too high a pace, you gain the true facts. If the union wage is to be regarded as a minimum it must be translated into a minimum amount of work, and that minimum amount of work is a matter on which the parties can fairly co-operate.

Having fixed upon the minimum amount of work, we are to take into account that all men are not equal and there is no suspicion in the union doctrine that all men are equal in ability, and I should therefore arrange to pay my people in proportion to the amount of work they did above the standard—not at all in the way of a bonus, not as a gift, and not charitably, but with a mutual recognition of the fact that, if prices are calculated upon the man doing 10 articles a day, if he then does 20 articles a day the employer can well afford to pay the worker who produces 100 per cent. more, 100 per cent. more wages, because the overhead expenses remains just the same. This is a principle recognized by most industrial engineers and it is perfectly fair to all parties.

"The chief objection from the workers' standpoint to doing more has been that while the employer gained largely from the excess, the employee gained little and often found that rates would be so reduced when he demonstrated his real ability that a new standard would be set under which a decent wage could be attained only by a killing day's work. I am decidedly in favor, wherever it is possible, of measuring the wage exactly by performance and of treating the union wage as a guaranteed minimum. If the standards were fixed by the men themselves or by the union officers, they would be fairly fixed, and those men who could not attain these mutually agreed-upon standards would very properly be discharged. Under such a mutual arrangement the length of the work day could be easily adjudicated on the facts, which is, after all, the only way that it can fairly be settled.

"As an employer I should be just as heartily in favor of the short work day as is, say, Henry Ford or

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any of our other progressive employers. Sustained effort is not possible beyond a certain length of time, the totality of production will suffer. Therefore, dismissing for the moment the human factor altogether and considering as an employer, merely the amount of production I could attain, I should know that a regular amount of first-class production could not be reached unless I had an alert, active working force and that men who work more than eight hours a day, day in and day out, do not remain alert, and active.

"We are so accustomed to the other kind of workers that sometimes we cannot recall the difference between the man in the fullness of his manhood and the one

who, through long grinding, is only partially alive."

5. Would you evolve wage scales which carried with them bonuses, either individual or departmental, based upon the fact that after a certain production is exceeded, then the overhead charge becomes so much lower per unit of production that a considerable increase in wages may be made?

"This question I have already answered in the previous question. I should expect to share with my workers the increased benefit of large production, letting them know fully by arrangement with their committees just what it was we were sharing and why we were sharing it. The rates thus arranged would put a



real premium on honest, active work and remove every possible difficulty in the way of higher and ever higher production. The idea of limiting production is a very pernicious one, but productions will be limited until the two parties to higher production learn to co-operate."

6. Would you put the question of so-called scientific management up to the men and let them by their own committees with the assistance of production engineers evolve the best methods or would you accept the ideas as exemplified in the English unions that there is only one way of doing anything and that is the way it has been done?

"Only out of production can we all grow prosperous and avert aid to production that does not involve human waste is a benefit to society. If the added production is gained at the cost of a human being then it does not help society, because even from a cold standpoint of economies it tends towards overproduction by destroying in the very making of a product those who would directly or indirectly buy that product. Whatever are the evils in the distribution of the products of work (and there are many of them), whose evils are not going to be cured by producing less.

"That will not solve the problem of distribution. That will provide humanity with one bone instead of two to snarl about. As I said before, I am in favor of every possible device which will increase the productivity of human labor and increase its standards. This is best done with the assistance of science. There can be no objection to really scientific management — (not the so-called scientific management with its stop-watch methods and bonuses), that which is for the benefit of all of the parties to industry and not

only of one. As an employer I should know that it would be shortsighted to expect to get steadily more from my workers and at the same time give them steadily less.

"The better industrial engineers who are interested in improving industry and not merely in coddling employers know this to be a fact, that they regard an inequality in pay — that is a pay which is less than the performance—as a waste of human resource, and pursue such wastes as belligerently as they pursue other waste.

"I think that scientific industrial instruction can best be given and possibly can be given only in co-operation with the workers and with committees of the workers so that none will have to work blindly. I am quite sure that the assurance that the improvement of methods will be for all will invite the most active co-operation on the part of the union officers.

The old 'ea'eanny' methods originated by the Scotch, the limitation of production, the idea that there is only a certain amount of work in this world to do and that it must be spread out thin, are dead and ought never to be revived, and will never be revived. As an employer I should discriminate between the union organizer for work and the organization falsely called a 'union' which is organized to prevent work."

7. Would you put the matter of hiring and firing in the hands of a committee and an employment manager or would you fix the responsibility upon the union?

"This vexed question I should leave to an employment manager acting in consultation with the union, for in this way the fairest results may be secured. The turnover of labor is one of the most serious industrial problems, and it has frequently come to my notice, this time speaking not as an employer but as president of the American Federation of Labor, that employment agencies have contributed to a very considerable degree to abnormal turnovers. In the past it has been not at all frequent for foremen or superintendents to share in the fees paid to the employment agencies for jobs.

"It then became to the interest of these officials to have just as many men as possible hired or fired. I remember an incident of this kind with the late Senator Hanna. He owned blast furnaces near Buffalo and one day he telephoned from the cloak-room of the senate that his men had gone on strike and would I come over and see him. I knew him very well and I had an inkling of what this trouble was, and so I went over to see him, especially since he was not at all a well man and could not very easily get around.

"I found him fuming—for if a blast furnace ever gets cold no power on earth can start it up again.

"What am I going to do, Sam?" he said. "These fellows have walked right out. They are getting stand-



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ard wages. What am I going to do? Can you get them back again?"

"I think I know what your trouble is," I answered. These men have simply revolted. I happen to know that your superintendent gets a bonus from an employment agency on each man that is hired and he has developed a system of firing people and then re-employing them through the agency so that he and the agency can get a little money. The men have revolted, and don't you think it's about time they did?"

"Do you mean to tell me that's going on to my place?" he almost yelled. "That's hell, I shall fire every one of them. But is there anything you can do?"

"There is nothing I can do officially," I answered, because I have no power to command anything, but I shall see if I can get the men back and then we can adjust this employment matter."

"I got in touch with the people on the long-distance telephone and they returned to work before the furnaces had cooled down. The senator soon discovered that what I had told him was a fact, and it did not take him very long to get rid of the swindling foremen and superintendents. By the next time I talked with him matters had been adjusted and then he complained:

"But why didn't these fellows tell me about this condition? Why did they just walk out and leave

me flat? It was so damned undiplomatic."

"I suppose, Senator," I answered, "it is because we do not develop diplomats on 5 cents an hour."

"Which is something that every employer might well bear in mind."

8. Would you endeavor to have any kind of committee or association among your employees who would discuss with you the ways and means for battering the business and all who are associated with it without regard to what any other business is doing, and how would you avoid having these committees degenerate into merely legalistic bodies discussing and making rules?

"I think it has been very well demonstrated by the English experience that the works committee as a whole is a failure, and that far better results can be attained by union co-operative committees for specific objects, I do not believe in mixing the functions of industry. I do not believe in mixing the affairs of the counting room and the workshop, but I should delegate to committees elected by the men and solely responsible to the men, the settlement of many matters which arise which are peculiar to the shop and not to the industry as a whole.

"Where the industry as a whole is concerned it is to the advantage of both the employer and the employee, that the minimum standards at least should be everywhere main-



tained, or the men who violates those standards will gain a temporary advantage over the man who preserves them and thus not only the industry will eventually suffer. The matter of committees is not particularly complicated if we regard them not as a substitute for management but as an aid hereto and assign to each definite and not merely roving functions. They will not become merely legalistic quibbling bodies if they are operated in a spirit of fair play. There is not generally in America the same suspicion between the employer and the employed as in some other countries, and I should not like to see that suspicion engendered so that the only dealings between the two are formal as between belligerent powers."

9. Would you further any community effort in the way of co-operative amusement, co-operative housing, savings or the like, where a distinct economy might be had by clubbing together?

"As an employer I should encourage my employees to form every possible kind of society which would add to their comfort, their education, their pleasure, or their well-being, provided always, however, that these societies could be organized by the people themselves and managed by them without interference from above. I am in favor of every such organization of employees and against every organization which is paternal in its scope or which is de-

signed to hold the worker to his job by mixing up with that job something in addition to the job itself. For instance, saving schemes fostered by employer and managed by him wherein the employee loses unless he remains a certain length of time have nothing to commend them and are an affront to manhood. Savings would be voluntary and managed from the outside. So likewise do I object to all of the enforced welfare work which treats the employee as an unintelligent animal needing the care of expert hostlers."

10. Presuming that you had evolved a system of harmonious working with the unions, what would you do in the case of a sympathetic strike?

A sympathetic strike is absolutely against the principles of the American Federation of Labor. It has nothing to do with constructive union labor and is a weapon evolved by the anti-trade union to pave the way for the general strike with which they hope to destroy the present basis of society.

"Now, since you have, for the last two hours, placed me in the impossible position of an employer of labor, I ask to be released so that I may resume my lifelong position of speaking and acting as my preference dictates, that is in the name of labor."

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## Kansas Has World's Greatest Cooperative Enterprise

Kansas is the home of the largest cooperative institution in the world, and last year it transacted a business exceeding \$150,000,000, every member drawing a dividend. The institution handling this tremendous business is the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, which controls more business enterprises in the State than any other organization. A brief glimpse at Kansas' cooperative enterprises is given in *Financial America*:

The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, have the oldest cooperative stores and were the first to make practical demonstrations of cooperative merchandising. The Grange store at Olathe has been in successful operation for more than forty years, and has never had a year when it did not pay a dividend to the members of the organization who own the store. The Farmers' Union is a comparatively new organization, but it has devoted its energies almost entirely to the establishment of the cooperative stores, elevators, and coal-yards throughout the central and western parts of the State. In addition to the stores, elevators, stock- and coal-yards, the union also sells insurance to its members upon a cooperative or mutual basis which brings insurance to the farmers at material reductions.

For some years there has been an effort made to get Kansas to authorize the establishment of cooperative banks to handle the money of the members of the union. But the fear that the looseness of the cooperative system might tend toward looseness in the State's financial system has kept the legislature from authorizing these institutions.

There are now over four hundred cooperative institutions in Kansas operating under the Farmers' Union plan. These include the stores, elevators, stock-yards, coal-yards, and insurance companies. Keith Clevenger, secretary, and Maurice McAuliff, president of the State organization, have shown in their annual reports that every one of the cooperative institutions is operated at a profit. Some make more profits than others, due to favorable locations and the merchandising ability of the managers.

The cooperative stores furnish the members of the unions all their food, clothing, shoes, and other wearing apparel and household goods. The union will buy coal for the season; it takes the wheat and corn and handles it through the elevators and markets it. Stock shipments are handled in the same way, the union buying stock when farmers need it for their farms and selling it when the stock is ready for the market. The cooperative insurance companies write all the insurance on the growing crops, the homes, buildings, and live stock of the members. The transactions of the organizations are not limited to the members of the union, but any one can have his business handled through

the union organizations. But only the members of the union who actually own the stock of the different organizations get the benefit of the dividends.

The prices at the cooperative stores are only slightly less than the ordinary store under private ownership. The elevator charges are practically the same as the commercial elevators. But at the end of the year the business is figured up and the profits are then distributed. In some cases it has been known that the dividends paid by one of these stores has been sufficient to reduce the cost of the purchases of most of the members of the union more than 20 per cent on the year's business of the member.

—:0:—

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I just circulate all day;  
No one dares put me away.

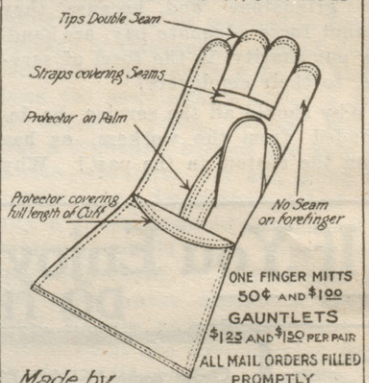
"When the evening board is set  
With the fruits of father's sweat,  
My small voice is hushed and still—  
I am in the butcher's till.

"And no matter where I go,  
People disregard me so;  
I don't seem to count for much  
'Mongst the profiteers and such."

Bill, take heart, your luck may  
change,  
I'll admit the times are strange.  
Though you're weak I love you still

Crinkle, crinkle, little bill.

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# "PAY" AND "SERVICE"

By EDNA K. WOOLEY

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has been recently quoted as saying that the world is thinking too much of pay and not enough of service.

"There is too little of service in the world today; the people do too much thinking about how much pay they are going to get," runs the report of a recent address by Mr. Rockefeller, on the Interchurch World Movement. "A few years ago, it seemed that individualism was the real solution. Individualism is not the solution of the world's problem. The solution, as I see it, is found in the brotherhood of men and women, between man and woman and the nation."

As Mr. Rockefeller was thinking when he spoke, he is right. The great lack in the world today is the spirit of SERVICE. We are too keen about "What is there for me?" All of our ideas and practices, seemingly, are based on PAY for what we do—or pay, anyway, whether we do anything to earn it or not.

On the other hand, whose fault is it that PAY looms so large and SERVICE so small in these restless days?

Granted that a great many workers today are shirkers, taking and demanding pay beyond what they earn. Also granted that these are still many workers who are giving splendid service for the pay they get, whether it is sufficient or not, according to their worth in service. But tell me which class of workers is getting the money—the shirkers who are loud in their demands and powerful in their organizations; or the workers who keep their noses to the grindstone and, because they cannot force adequate pay, are handing out charity, in the form of service, to their employers?

Why should all the service be demanded from the workers, as has been the custom in the past? Why

not make it a fifty-fifty proposition and expect just as much service from employers as employers expect from their workers?

The fact is that a considerable proportion of the wealth piled up in this country is the result of CHARITY, in the form of SERVICE, donated by underpaid workers.

I wonder if some of these beneficiaries of the workers' charity ever stop to think when they donate to a church or an orphan asylum or a community chest or any charitable fund; or when they look down upon the common people as an inferior class of human beings because they must work for a living; that after all they aren't so much, for if it wasn't for the common people the workers who have donated their time and labor and brains, giving far more than ever were paid for, these self-estimated superior beings might be eating pea soup in the poor-house.

And now that some of the workers have decided that they have been charitable long enough, and have banded themselves together to demand adequate returns for their work, we hear much talk about SERVICE. They are called selfish because their minds dwell on sufficient PAY for what they earn. The beneficiaries of the workers' service are howling because they see a possible dwindling of profits, a more equitable division of earnings among those who EARN—those who SERVE.

There is a loud cry of bewilderment because it has been discovered that among the workers there are some who are SELFISH—just as SELFISH and GREEDY as the men who have been amassing wealth through the underpaid service of their employees.

But why the amazement? We're

all of the same clay, and it stands to reason that there are the same characters among those who are compelled by circumstances to serve, as among those who benefit by the serving. Yet these examples of selfishness and greed are being pointed out as peculiarly representative of the great mass of workers, and we are told that the people are thinking only about "the PAY they are going to get."

The people ARE thinking about the pay they are going to get, and among the people thinking along this line are the owners and heads of every industry, public or private, in this country, probably every Government official, and every employer as well as every employee.

The people have been taught that PAY is the all-important thing. They have been MADE TO PAY, in prices, in taxes, in charity, for patriotism, but most of all in SERVICE. Now they are asking that somebody pay them also, for the chief commodity—SERVICE. They are asking why they must give so much and receive so little. And they will not take kindly to the well-meant words of a man like John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose wealth was made possible by the charity of thousands of workers who gave SERVICE and received so little PAY in return that they could not save enough to take care of themselves in their old age.

It is very easy for a rich man who doesn't need to think about PAY, which means the daily bread and butter, the rent, the coal pile and

the kiddies' shoes, to talk about SERVICE and the brotherhood of men and women and such. He thinks he knows what he is talking about, but he'll never know until he has to DEPEND upon the PAY that the average worker receives for the SERVICE he gives. And John D., Jr., is in no danger of that. —"Cleveland News."



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## Railroad Wage Advance Demanded

**Representative of Locomotive Firemen Forecasts Crisis if Relief Is Not Granted—Says Public Is Being Deceived.**

Washington, District of Columbia—Statements to make the public believe that wage increases to the railroad employees will increase rates which will be multiplied four or five times in living costs, indicate, if the public is unable to prevent it, as has been said, that this is a "government for, of and by an organized plunderbund," according to Timothy Shea, assistant president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, in his final argument, yesterday, before the Railroad Labor Board.

"Let no man be blind to the fact that a crisis in the railroad industry is at hand," said Mr. Shea. "Six weeks ago we achieved the almost impossible feat of persuading men to return or to continue at work without securing for them any immediate relief, and with nothing but promises as to the future, and now we have every evidence that these men are concluding that they have been fooled again.

"One great trouble with the American people is that they never believe that anything disagreeable is going to happen until it has actually happened.

"There is not even an implied threat in calling attention to another impending industrial catastrophe. It is a simple statement of fact. The railroad workers must have relief, and they must be given relief at once.

"There is another phase of the situation to which attention should be called. Notice has already been served on the public that whatever railroad rate increase may be necessitated by increases in wages to railroad workers, that increase will be multiplied four or five times by the profiteers and added to the already intolerable burden of the cost of living. The public is told that it is helpless to prevent this. If that is true, it is a sad commentary on our political institutions, for it means that this is a government for, of and by an organized plunderbund.

"In this connection the public should understand that if it were not for the profiteers, railroad workers could be given a square deal and a living wage without any increase in rates. Next to wage earners and salaried people, the railroad workers are the greatest victims of the profiteers. Railway equipment corporations, the Steel Trust, the coal

barons and the petroleum pirates have grown fat on the excessive and unjustifiable profits they have exacted from the railroads, and unless some means is found to curb their greed they will gobble up the greater part of the billions which the railroads must spend for new equipment, betterments, and materials of all kinds during the next few years. The Railroad Labor Board may not have the authority to deal with this phase of the railroad problem, but there must be some governmental agency that has the necessary power and the courage to exercise it."

Mr. Shea said that in a comparison of earnings for eight hours of labor, locomotive firemen rank seventy-seventh among occupations and industries for which authoritative data are available, and that only nine occupations are paid less.

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### CHILD MARRIAGES

On the sixth day of March last Mary, a fourteen-year-old motherless girl, living in a tenement district on the South Side of Chicago, was married to a man whose last name she did not even know. She had seen this man only twice before in her life. The marriage took place in the county building and was performed by a judge who accepted \$5 for his services. The ceremony was witnessed by Mary's father who perjured himself in an affidavit stating his daughter's age.

The girl's home was a miserable four-room flat in which six people lived. The father was an unsympathetic man whose chief desire ap-

peared to be to rid himself of his daughter; an unfriendly stepmother had further increased the child's unhappiness. Two days after the marriage, the principal of the school formerly attended by Mary brought the case to the attention of the Juvenile Protective Association. The child was found working in a factory on the West Side. She was no longer living in his father's home but was staying with an acquaintance in another part of the city. She did not know her husband's name, his address or his place of employment. The man was finally located, but interviews with him and with the girl's father failed to reveal any reason for his child's marriage.

Representatives of the Legal Aid Society and an assistant state's attorney connected with the Juvenile Court advised that steps be taken to annul the marriage and to safeguard the child's future. The father consented to this annulment only when the possibility of prosecution on a charge of perjury was presented to him. Nor was he the only person who opposed such action; a certain midwife not unknown to Chicago legal agencies appeared at the office and volunteered to sign an affidavit that the girl was sixteen years old. Annulment proceedings were instituted, however, and Mary was placed with a friend of her dead mother, who is giving her the care that she was previously denied.

This story, which is told by the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, is only one of seven, all having to do with child marriages, that came to the attention of the association in the single month of March. On the lower North side, a thirteen-year-old girl and a twenty-two-year-old man eloped, going to Ohio to be married. In South Chicago a tuberculous girl of fourteen became a child wife. A block from the association's office a girl of fifteen years, whose father was a drunkard, became the wife of a man who later left her, going to another city. In another part of the city a fifteen-year-old girl married a nineteen-year-old boy who very quickly refused to support her. In the stock yards district a couple aged fifteen and twenty went to Crown Point and were married. Still another child wife of only thirteen years now finds it impossible to live with her husband, who is cruel and abusive, and she has applied to the association for protection.

In cases of this sort the Juvenile Protective Association tries to find a wholesome environment in which the children can have a fair chance. It is also conducting an educational campaign to change the custom of child marriage among certain foreign groups to conform to American standards. Fortunately in this program it is meeting with success among prominent citizens of foreign extraction themselves.

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## High Cost of Railroading

At the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Mr. E. W. Beatty, President of the Company, stated that the annual report vividly expressed the situation prevailing in respect of the increased cost of operation. The gross earnings were the largest in the Company's history, exceeding those of 1918 by \$19,391,362, yet the earnings were less by \$1,569,351. The large increase in working expenses showing a total increase since 1917 of the increased cost of wages and material in spite of the Company's conservative and economical administration.

While it is gratifying that even with these exceptional costs the Company had during the past two years earned fixed charges and usual dividends, nevertheless the relation between earnings and expenses must now receive most careful consideration. The upward trend in costs of the last two years has not been equalized by increases in the gross earnings and operating economies. The extent of the rate increases fixed by the Dominion Railway Commission has not equalled the increased costs recently forced on all Companies. Between 1914 and 1919 the working expenses of the Company had climbed from \$87,388,000 to \$144,000,000; an increase of 64 p. c. Within the same period the increases in freight and passenger rates amounted in actual fact to 30 p. c. in freight rates and 10 p. c. in passenger rates. Thus during the past five years the percentage increase in operating expenses was double the percentage in tolls accorded to the Railway Companies.

Owing to the parity of conditions existing between the United States and Canada, the Canadian roads during the war had to accept the high wage scales made effective under Government control of American roads and also to continue operating under similar tariff tolls. These tariffs were entirely inadequate as results in the United States clearly demonstrated. American carriers of rates which will return fixed percentage on the value of the undertakings used in the public service. This will mean a reconsideration of, and increase in the rates now current in the United States. No doubt the necessity of rate adjustments will be given earnest consideration by the Government and the Dominion Railway Board. Such re-adjustment is amply adjusted both on the ground of the value of service rendered by the carriers and the cost to them of performing such service.

The rates in Canada should be determined having regard to the cost and value of services, and the legitimate needs of the railway companies. The properties of the Cana-

dian Pacific are in excellent condition and at no time in its history has it been better equipped to perform its important public services or to play its full part in the advancement of Canada.

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has developed 643,526 acres by means of 3,969 miles of irrigation ditches at a construction cost of \$15,186,348 and operation costs of \$1,761,268. Success of the irrigation block will, it is hoped, lead to the expansion of irrigation projects un-

der Federal or Provincial Governments, thereby diminishing the danger of crop failure in irrigated districts.

The value of any enterprise depends on the ability to progress and on the maintenance of high credit necessary to the development. Railways must be enabled to keep pace with the progress of the country, by expanding the facilities, constructing necessary new lines and supplying the public with adequate efficiency and comfort in service. The railway net earnings of the Company for 1919 represent a return of only four per cent. on the actual cash investment in the railway itself. A nominal surplus of \$844,249 has been placed in reserve to meet the special taxation imposed by the Dominion Government. The fixed charges and interest on the preference stock of the Company are low and the dividend of seven per cent. payable on the common stock from the railway earnings is moderate. Any corporation conducting so extensive an enterprise must have reasonable surpluses. Yet the surplus after the deduction of the fixed charges and the dividends amounted to less than half of one per cent. of the gross earnings. Revenues, therefore, during the past two years were obviously inadequate. Rates should be established which represent a fair return for the service rendered. Profits earned by a Company's efficiency and economy and by the character and extent of the equipment and facilities, should be confiscated, nor should the revenues accruing to one Company from service well performed be taken to supplement the revenue of a competitor less successful. The theory that the rates be not increased, but that the deficits be met from general revenues of the Company is economically unsound and discriminating against the public in favor of those using railway facilities. The Company's equipment Trust Issue of \$12,000,000 was secured at highly favorable interest rates. The amendment to the Company's Charter permitting the increase of the number of the Directors from fifteen to eighteen is purely empowering.

Immigration to Canada is anticipated on a large scale, and while retrenchment and financial conservatism are wise, the Company's Directors have the same implicit faith in the future growth and the prosperity of the country as before, and the same confidence in the Company's ability to play an important part in its development and prosperity.

Four retiring directors, Sir John C. Eaton, Mr. Grant Hall, Sir Vincent Meredith, Bart., and Sir Augustus M. Nanton, were re-elected.

At a meeting of the Board subsequently held Lord Shaughnessy was elected chairman, E. W. Beatty, president, Grant Hall, vice-president, and executive committee appointed is as follows: Richard B. Angus, E. W. Beatty, Grant Hall, Sir Herbert S. Holt, Sir Edmund B. Osler, Lord Shaughnessy.

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# Socialism In Great Britain; Its Relation To The Labor Movement

(By ETHELBERG POGSON, London Correspondent of the Railroader.)

It is rather confusing to anyone who has only a casual and literary acquaintance with Labor matters in Great Britain when he essays to understand where Socialism comes in and how far it has power and influence.

I would like to put it that in Britain Socialism is the doctrine: Labor stands for the practice. Socialism is the ideal: Labor is the utilization of ways and means. The two are interwoven and interdependent to a greater extent today than ever they were. If you attempted to draw a clear-cut line and say: "On this side Labor ends and on this Socialism begins", you would be hopelessly wrong and irretrievably muddled. There is no such clear dividing line. The nearest you can come to it is to say that whereas every Labor man is not necessarily a Socialist, every Socialist must be and is a Labor man.

Close and keen observation of and intimate acquaintance with the British Labor movement leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is more more considerably Socialist than ever it was. The old Liberal-Labor element has vanished. The newer Liberal-Socialist classification is scarcely necessary. The party as a whole embraces most of the principles of Socialism, although it prefers definite and direct Labor and trade unionist methods, in order to get its gospel put into practice.

There are degrees of Socialism in Britain, as elsewhere. The largest Socialist organization is the Independent Labor Party, which claims to have 60,000 members and numbers among its chief men Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden and Bruce Glasier. These stand for pure Marxianism when they say anything about it. As a rule they talk mostly about Socialization and nationalization and the necessity for overthrowing the capitalist system. But that is the same kind of argument you can hear any day from nine-tenths of Labor leaders.

The Independent Labor Party has offices in London, with a secretary, Francis Johnson, and a number of organizers. It has branches in nearly every town in the land, and it breeds the best speakers Labor has.

It should be clearly understood that it is part of the national Labor Party and not opposed to it. There comes a difference of opinion occasionally, certainly, as when, during the war, the Labor Party supported the Government in prosecuting the rate, was sure of a Cabinet post had it allowed its men to be members of the Coalition.

The I. P. L., on the other hand,

spoke, wrote and acted against war as war was refused to see any difference between that war and any other. It held that neither Germany, Austria, Belgium, nor any other nation was the enemy, but that there was only one enemy, Capitalism. So Ramsay MacDonald went into retirement and Snowden followed him. MacDonald, at any rate, was sure of a Cabinet post had he supported the war. The younger men of the I. L. P. became conscientious objectors and many of them went to prison.

The latest point at issue is concerned with the International. The Labor Party stands by Geneva: the I. L. P. does not want to see the Bolsheviks excluded, although it hesitates to go so far as to ally itself to the Moscow or Lenin International. The young bloods of the I. L. P. call the older men of the Labor Party reactionary; the elder statesmen retort by declaring the younger souls impractical. Still all are the best of friends. Each works wholeheartedly for the movement in his or her own way, and aims at the same goal by routes that are not so very far apart.

The next Socialist Party in importance of numbers is the British Socialist Party, which professes to have 10,000 members, but which would have difficulty, I fancy, in counting so many heads. It has recently distinguished itself by declaring for Moscow and Lenin and pouring streams of obloquy upon the heads of those Labor leaders who believe that the meantime matters and that it is better to get something by negotiation than having nothing until such time as a miracle will bestow all. It had great names in its ranks at one time, but these are now lamentably few.

The National Socialist Party is a split off from the B. S. P. headed by H. M. Hyndman, the oldest notable Socialist in Europe and one of the most remarkable figures still in the British movement. Hyndman was wholeheartedly for the war. He would have no truckling to or dallying with Germany, and, old as he is — over seventy — he led a band of men and women of like ideas out and formed the National Socialist Party. He was offered the British Ambassadorship to Petrograd but circumstances prevented his accepting. There were elements in the British Cabinet with which he could not agree and, on principle, he told me himself, he declined the preferred honor.

The really intellectual side of Socialism is supplied by the Fabian Society. G. Bernard Shaw and Sid-

ney Webb are still the stalwarts, the former full of satire and cynism as ever, the latter packed with facts and figure salmost to bursting point. The best allusion to Webb I ever heard was by Shaw. A former secretary, Pease, was just retiring, and Shaw made the inevitable presentation. "I am handling our comrade Pease", he said, "this copy of the Encyclopaedia Britannica to solace him for the days when he no longer has the constant companionship of Sidney Webb."

In the minds of some people Socialism always spells revolution. What, then, is the strength of the revolutionary movement in Britain, and what the chances of its succeeding? The answer to the first is that it is small, and, to the second, that they are, for the next few generations, at any rate, nil.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land there are rumblings and and grumbings of Bolshevism and revolution. But there is no doubt to them; it is all surface froth.

I could take a visitor to London to a meeting, at which he would hear most seditious utterances thrown out absolutely regardless of consequences. And then, when the speech making was over, if we got the speaker into a corner and discussed the matter with calmness, he would admit within ten minutes that he never wanted a revolution in England, but only desired to ginger up a few of the slow-coaches compromisers he

fancied he had detected in the Labor movement.

It was only recently that a much heralded rank-and-file convention was held in London to denounce all the Labor leaders at present in the saddle and to tell them all what they ought to do. They sat for two days. They quarrelled among themselves the whole time, and they passed pious resolutions to the effect that they were going to form Soviets. Those Soviets have not been formed, nor will they be, for the simple reason that the people present at the convention had not enough intelligence to form a crochet pattern.

What they can and do perform is a considerable amount of mischief in persuading sections of trade unionists here and there to repudiate settlements made by elected representatives and generally to hamper the world of the people they themselves have sent to Parliament or trade union office. In South Wales, on the Clyde, in Lancashire, are what are called "unofficial workmen's committees", which attempt to permeate the workers with the doctrine of defiance — of everybody and everything, their own leaders first. But they have no machinery, no money, no real ideals, no construction policy, and no sort of clear thinking. They make much noise now and again, but they are empty waggons, which always produce most sound.



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# How The "Big Four" Won

*Hold Ninety Per Cent of Membership of Railway Brotherhoods Against Outlaw Movement Aiming to Destroy Organization and Promote "One Big Union".*

(By William C. Roberts, in *Civic Federation Review*, New York.)

The strike of railroad employees in the transportation service established two facts: That organization of labor is necessary and that the needs of the workers must be considered justly and without delay.

The fact that the railroad employees were organized and had strong leaders prevented the spread of the "wildcat" strike. The delay of the Government and railroad officials in answering the appeals for higher wages was responsible for the strike.

If it had not been for the discipline secured through years of organization by the brotherhoods the strike would have been nationwide instead of being confined to a number of industrial centres.

For more than a year the railroad employees had appealed time and again to the Railroad Administration for increases of wages that would meet the continued advance in the cost of the necessities of life. But month after month passed without an answer to the appeal from the Railroad Administration. The situation became similar to a law suit in court. The Railroad Administration used its efforts in putting off from month to month any decision as to wage increases. While admitting that the demands for more money were just, the idea seemed to be to drift along until after the railroads had been turned over to the owners.

When it is known that the railroad employees up to 1917 never had received anything near a proper wage scale, and that the additions then received were inadequate, it cannot be wondered why demands for a strike became insistent during the summer months of 1919.

Appeals were made to President Wilson for relief. He was told that a strike of both brotherhoods and shopmen was inevitable unless a wage sufficient to meet the high cost of living was conceded by the Railroad Administration. President Wilson in a public letter stated that the cost of living would recede and urged that the men remain at work. He contended that the cost of living would be reduced and gave as his authority the Department of Justice. The railroad employees, always loyal to their country, agreed to call off the strike. This was done. Everybody continued at work and watched the price barometer on the necessities of life. Instead of falling it continued to rise and in still going up.

Then the railroads were turned back to their owners under a law which provided that all disputes over wages should be considered by a Labor Board to be appointed by the President.

There was much dissatisfaction among the railroad workers throughout the country and this was intensified as day after day passed and no Labor Board was appointed. The men in the yard service began to charge that it was their officials who were responsible for the delay in securing an increase in wages, that if they had done their duty and called a strike the whole matter would have been settled long ago. This strike sentiment had been long withheld. The yardmen in the various terminals had voted to strike in February last if their wages were not increased. This would have been a legal strike. As time passed and nothing was done they began unjustly to attack the chief executives of the brotherhoods. The latter were blamed for the delay.

The sentiment was so extensive that when the brotherhoods' chief executives met in Washington in February some of them believed that it would be impossible to hold their members in their employment unless there was quick action on wages.

It is not generally known, but it is a fact, that the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was prepared to call a strike February 23, 1920. They had given the Railroad Administration the regular thirty-day notice that its contract with the railroads would terminate February 23. The sentiment for a strike was very strong and general. A committee with full power to order the strike was in Washington. The rank and file of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen were continually sending telegrams to President W. G. Lee, demanding that a strike be called unless concessions in wages were granted. President Lee was much concerned. Before he left Cleveland he was certain that a strike would be called. He had no hope of securing any concessions. In fact the twenty members of the committee, which had full authority to call the strike, all felt the seriousness of the situation. They had arranged their financial affairs so that in the event the strike was called and the Attorney General of the United States began proceedings the courts could not touch their property or funds.

When the trainmen's committee arrived in Washington the members refused to join with the shopmen and other trades in a letter to the Railroad Administration and later to the President. President Lee and the committee demanded a separate hearing from Director General Walker D. Hines and in that conference Mr. Lee, after increases were refused, declared he feared that a strike could not be prevented. The

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chief executives of all the other organizations urged the trainmen's committee to await the action of the President, who had promised that in the event no law was enacted covering the issue he would appoint a commission to settle the wage dispute. He had pledged that this commission would act immediately. But a law was enacted and President Lee appeared before the trainmen's committee, whose members were still rebellious, and asked that they agree to cancel the contemplated strike. The members refused.

This conference was held in the National Hotel in Washington. Then Lee, it is stated in labor circles, told the members of the committee:

"The constitution gives this committee full power to call the strike. Now, you choose a man to lead this strike and I will back him, but I will not conduct it myself." This changed the sentiment of the members and they voted to accept the recommendations of President Lee and cancelled the strike order.

When these facts became known among the rank and file there was a great uproar. A leader of the insurgents appeared in Chicago and denounced President Lee, and the

yardmen declared for a strike. The meeting which favored the strike was unauthorized and contrary to the constitution of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The strike began the first week in April.

While President Lee and the other brotherhood officials had done everything they possibly could to secure wage increases, spent day after day in Washington appealing to the administration, they were unsuccessful. Instead of directing their antipathies to the Railroad Administration the insurgents blamed the chief executives for their troubles. They denounced the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen as well as the other brotherhoods and their officials and declared for a new organization. At a meeting held April 9 in Washington the chief executives of the big four brotherhoods issued the following statement:

"The present strike of men engaged in switching service was originated in Chicago by a new organization that has for its purpose the destruction of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Switchmen's Union and in its inception had nothing to do with the wage question, but was a demand for the reinstatement of the leader of this



opposition organization. After this strike was instituted for this purpose, the leaders of the new organization then injected the wage question for the sole purpose of deceiving the yard men throughout the United States and promote the 'one big union' idea.

"There can be no settlement of pending wage questions while this illegal action continues. We insist that every member of these brotherhoods do everything within his power to preserve their existing contracts, which if abrogated may take years to rebuild. The laws of all of these organizations provide penalties for members engaging in illegal strikes, and these penalties will be enforced.

"(Signed) L. E. Sheppard, President Order Railroad Conductors; W. G. Lee, President Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen; W. S. Stone, Grand Chief Engineer, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; W. S. Carter, President Brotherhood Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen."

President Lee made an additional statement in which he pointed out to the yardmen that the only hope of securing an additional increase in wages was through the Labor Board which had been created by law. He said:

"The fifteen railroad labor organizations have entered into a signed agreement to present their wage demands to such board, according to the law, and it is unreasonable to expect that any increase will be granted except by the board."

But there was no board then in existence. The President had failed to make the appointments, although urgent requests were coming from all parts of the country as well as from the chief executives of the brotherhoods. The failure of appointing the board immediately after the law was enacted stirred the insurgents and made their agitation for a strike more successful.

President Lee revoked the charters of lodges having an aggregate of 18,000 members. The railroads set a date when the strikers should return to work or be barred from their seniority. While many returned to work quite a number remained out.

While the strike was in progress the 600,000 railroad shopmen in the United States, the telegraphers and railway clerks remained at work. While their grievances were as great as those of the switchmen, they listened to their officials and agreed to wait until the Labor Board could act.

These facts prove that if it were not for the discipline of the organizations ninety per cent. of the employees who were seeking wage advances would have joined the strike. Nothing could have held them. It was only the influence of their organizations that prevented them from quitting work.

Since the Labor Board was appointed and began its hearings on the wage increases desired, much

concern has been created by the evident intent of the railroad officials to delay as much as possible any awards being made. They appeared before the board with what appeared a very innocent request which, if adopted, would delay a decision for a year or more. This was that every railroad should be sent a questionnaire regarding the issues at stake. This was to be a complicated affair and would require much time to answer. The plan was bitterly fought by the brotherhoods' officials.

In the present case the Labor Board is an arbitration board. Arbitration to the railroad employee is not a fascinating word. The firemen and engineers a few years ago spent half a million dollars preparing a case which required several months of hearings, and the award was so objectionable that at that time it was said the engineers and firemen never would submit to arbitration again. If the Labor Board persists in delaying a decision the danger of further illegal strikes will increase daily.

It is the duty of the public to support the chief executives of the railroad brotherhoods and the shopmen in their efforts to maintain peace until an award has been made. Where so many men are involved it is not surprising that a number of them will "jump the traces" and cease work.

Much credit is due to President Lee that under the circumstances

fewer men joined the unauthorized strike. It establishes the fact that his administration has proved effective. Mr. Timothy Shea, acting president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, also had a difficult problem. The locomotive firemen were restless and it was only by using every influence possible that so few members of that organization joined the "wildcat" strike.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Order of Railroad Conductors were not materially affected. Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Engineers, and L. E. Sheppard, president of the Conductors, laid the failure to affect their members to the discipline of long organization.

The strike teaches a lesson. If the railroad employees had been unorganized and had not drifted along from day to day and year to year with the hope that they would secure an increase in wages some time they would have rebelled long ago.

No more loyal citizens than the railroad employees can be found in the United States. No others were more concerned in winning the war. They had grievances unnumbered, but they were placed in the background while the nation was fighting for the freedom of not only itself but the rest of the world. They believed, and justly, that they should receive proper recognition for their grievances. They did not expect delay. They did not realize

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that a persistent propaganda had been launched to discredit the railroad workers.

There is no intention to defend the strikers. There should be only condemnation for men who violate their obligations to their organizations. The intent is to point out that were it not for organized labor in peace time as well as in war there would be continual strife in the industrial field. Where men are unorganized they are voiceless. They have no method of preparing their grievances collectively. Naturally, they become morose, sullen and finally stampede from their employment like cattle from a prairie fire. They are heedless of the future and think only of their grievances.

The present strike is similar to that of the American Railway Union in 1894. In that strike Debs expected to unite all the railroad workers into the American Railway Union. The success of his organization meant the downfall of the railroad brotherhoods. But the brotherhoods stood firm and although greatly injured by that strike they gradually recovered. Debs' idea of "one big union" proved to be ineffective. The present insurgent movement against the four brotherhoods will also fail.

In the meantime the railroad employees and the public should support the chosen officials of the four brotherhoods. While they are not responsible for the present wage situation, in fact have exhausted every means except endorsing a strike to secure advances in wages, they have believed in an orderly way of obtaining results.

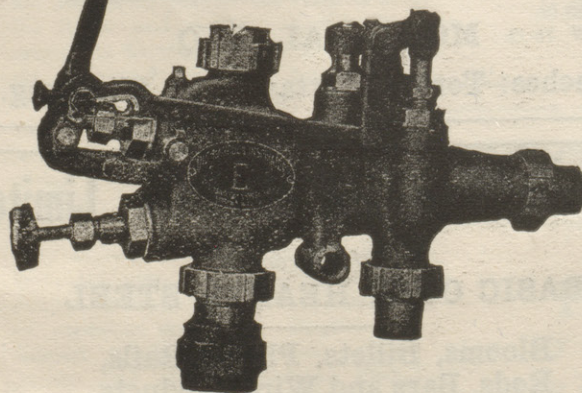
The strike is also a warning to the Government officials that they cannot dillydally with questions that govern the economic conditions of the people. It is also a warning to the officials who are now operating the railroads that they must listen to the just grievances of the employee. Unless they do there is no telling how soon the strike spirit will spread among those who refused to join the present unauthorized walkout.

One thing is certain. The railroad brotherhoods will recover from the effects of the strike and will grow stronger and stronger until such illegal walkouts will be impossible.



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# Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From our own Correspondent)

SIR Robert Borden returned to the Capital on May 12th and received a very cordial reception from all parties on entering the House. He looked bronzed and well, but there was not much sprightliness to his movements and people who have come in close contact with him since his return are doubtful if the restoration of his physical health is not more superficial than real. As the members of the Senate are taking one of their periodical rests, it has been impossible to hold a Coalition caucus, but such a gathering will be convened in the near future when there will be an attempt to solve some certain momentous problems.

Sir Robert received a somewhat chilly welcome from some of the journals which support the Coalition. Both the Montreal Gazette and the Ottawa Journal, while rejoicing in his restoration to our midst, greeted him with very pointed lectures. They spoke of his long services and high repute as a statesman and besought him not to imperil his fate by clinging to office if his health unfitted him for its burdens. They praised his skill and patience in forming the Coalition and laying down a body of policies for Canada during critical years, but they told him that the trust which he imposed upon his colleagues during his absence had not been faithfully carried out. They spoke bitterly of his proneness to lend ear to evil and worthless counsellors, meaning probably thereby Messrs. Calder, Rowell and J. D. Reid, and asserted that the advice which had been conveyed to him in his southern retreat was always unintelligent and often insincere.

On the other hand, they deplored the fact that tired and trusty friends of ancient standing, presumably Mr Arthur Meighen among others, were no longer in his confidence. All the elements they said of political success, continuity of policy cohesion and mutual confidence are lacking and Ministers have as sedulously avoided the electorate as if they were all infected with leprosy. In such terms do these worthy papers sum up the present position of the Coalition Government and they bluntly tell Sir Robert that if he has any doubts of his capacity to breathe new life into the moribund creature, to which he gave existence, he had better make his final bow as soon as possible and give place to some more energetic leader.

Some of the Cabinet have reached the stage when what they dread more than anything else is that Sir Robert should undertake to resume the duties of his Premiership, find all manner of exacting problems, demanding immediate attention, discover that the strain of office was

too severe, see his old ailment returned and be faced a few months hence with the necessity of permanent retiral. They dislike the idea of having to go through once more the whole business of intrigue and unsettlement which must inevitably accompany the retiral of Sir Robert owing to the character of his following and the temperaments of his colleagues. Sir Robert is a born procrastinator and the more zealous spirits divine that if he remains at the helm, the emergence of both a policy and an organization may be indefinitely delayed. Delay in their eyes spells disaster and for this reason they would prefer to have the crisis over and be done with it. If a breakup has to come, the sooner the better.

This attitude is reflected in the editorials of the Montreal Gazette commending Mr. Robert Rogers for his great services in keeping alive the embers of the old true-blue Conservatism in days when its prospects were very dark and its defenders in the open few and far between.

Mr Rogers is deperately and perpetually busy and it would be a mistake to imagine that his influence is wholly negligible. Many people have cause to be grateful to him and others to fear him.

Ten days ago he held a conference of a band of loyal souls who had not bowed the knee to Baal. Delegates, it was reported, attended from every province of the Dominion but what was the name and fame of each was not disclosed to an interested public. The conference was planned as the preliminary to a national convention from which would emerge a reborn Conservative party, but this is now postponed. It is understood that a certain Commission now investigating the performances of the Government in regard to the sale of timber limits in Northern Ontario and kindred matters have to bear the responsibility for the unfortunate postponement. Their disclosures have been, to put it mildly, inopportune from the point of view of a Tory revival. At the latter ceremony Mr. Howard Ferguson, temporary Conservative leader in the Ontario house, was billed as one of the star performers in the cast but he is seeking a restoration of health in those southern regions to which our statesmen depart in time of physical and mental trouble and his

presence was evidently regarded as indispensable. Messrs. Calder and Rowell are well aware that the movement for the revival of the Tory party is gathering strength and that the main barrier to it is Sir Robert. Therefore they will move heaven and earth to induce Sir Robert to remain and if he fails them he will resort to Sir George Foster and pray that his experience and authority may avail to hold the motely Coalition together. Sir George would probably not be averse to finding a crown to his career in the Premiership and he would take peculiar pleasure in representing us at the Imperial Conference. He would certainly invite Mr. Mackenzie King to go with him and the latter would as certainly accept. When they returned they would be grave danger that Canada might find herself committed to some scheme of Imperial organization, which would be quite unacceptable to the electorate. Sir George is much too old and set in his ideas to be entrusted with the Premiership at this difficult period in our history but circumstances may thrust him upon us.

There has lately come to light an interesting sample of Mr. Rowell's attitude towards politics and democracy. His mind runs perennially to regulation and paternalism; like Mr. Mitchell Palmer, the Attorney-General of the United States he is always disturbed about what he thinks is the semi-revolutionary state of public opinion and scenting Bolshevik plots in every labor meeting. He is now afraid that the news which comes and goes overseas for our benefit is not quite safe and sane enough for the health of the community and in company with a band of kindred spirits in other parts of the British Commonwealth is engaged in trying to set up an Imperial Press Service. Our Parliament will be asked by him to grant a subsidy of \$20,000 to this new organization and the old subsidy to the Canadian Associated Press will be withdrawn. Mr. Irving Robertson, the Managing Director of the Toronto Telegram, has now made public a most interesting correspondence between himself and Mr. Rowell in which he declines to take any part in the formation of the new service and reads Mr. Rowell some excellent lessons in the doctrines of liberalism and the freedom of the press. Such a service as Mr. Rowell proposes to set up would, though nominally independent, be in practice under the control of the Government of the day and only such news as suited their plans and policies would ever emerge from its offices. The public would suspect it as tainted and would cease to believe it so that, as Mr. Robertson points out in his letter, it would be absolutely useless for the purpose of binding the peoples of the Commonwealth together, a cause which Mr. Rowell professes to hold dear. The service would soon degenerate into what is probably designed for the "puffery bureau", which

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on the one hand would tell us how Lord Beaverbrook and Col. Grant Morden were running England and entertaining Dukes at their country houses, and on the other hand would inform the British people how Mr. Rowell was engaged in a daily battle with the forces of evil and was lifting Canadian politics to a higher moral plane. Mr. Rowell is never weary of professing his devotion to Liberal ideals, but his conduct reveals him to be the very antithesis of a Liberal. Liberalism is an attitude of mind which believes that mankind are in the main people prepared to behave well and act with rectitude and generosity if they are given a fair chance and the task of Liberalism has been to remove those disabilities, economic, social and political which have been obstacles to this "fair chance in life". Mr. Rowell on the other hand believes that most men and women are innately wicked and will be liable to eternal damnation unless they are shepherded and guided into more righteous paths by elect spirits such as himself.

On Monday, the debate on the alien clause in the Franchise Bill was resumed. The Liberals and the Independent progressives were united in their opposition to the continuance of disabilities which under the construed terms of the Naturalization Acts and Franchise would be imposed upon large numbers of voters. As Dr. Clark pointed out, a negress who came north from the Southern States would have no difficulty in securing a vote, but hundreds of men and women who had lived for years in Canada would be debarred from the franchise and for many more it would be made a matter of great difficulty. Dr. Clark made a slashing attack upon the Government for their reactionary attitude which he declared to be a denial of fundamental British traditions. Mr. Mackenzie King reminded Mr. Guthrie of his promise in his introductory speech that the bill would be a model of fairness as far as human minds could make it and asked the Government, if they had no need to principles of justice, to respect at least their own pledged word. Mr. Crerar declared that the disenfranchising clauses were a blot upon the honor of Canada and pointed out the evils of setting up a double citizenship. But nothing could move the Government from its position and they put up various of their political braves to sound the loud timbrel and keep the "war spirit" alive. When a division was taken on Mr. Euler's motion to strike out the disenfranchising clauses altogether, the Government found their majority only 20, the vote being 79 to 59. Then Mr. Pardee moved another amendment with the same object in view as Mr. Euler, and made a good speech in support of it.

But it shared the fate of its predecessor by 76 votes to 44, and the Guthrie amendment, which restored to their franchise rights people

"Were it possible for the country again to become as united and earnest as it was during the war period, if it were possible for each and all of us to sink all differences, class and sectional interests and jealousies into an effort towards re-establishing a Canada as united and co-ordinated as that which won the war, the task would indeed be easy and simple."

SIR HENRY DRAYTON  
in his budget speech.

who had been eligible for them before the Naturalization Act of 1919 was passed, had to be accepted as the minimum concession which be obtained.

Tuesday saw the echoes of the timehonored bilingual conflict resounding in the House. Mr. O. Turgeon, of Gloucester, one of the most capable and respected members on the Opposition benches, moved an amendment which sought to provide for publication of the Act in both languages throughout the Dominion. He wanted its terms to be made known in the numerous districts outside Quebec and Ontario where there were large numbers of French-speaking inhabitants. Mr. Guthrie, while willing to make some concessions, thought the clause which required publication of election proclamations in French only in Quebec and Manitoba should stand. The Opposition took the ground that they were asking for a right and not a privilege and a desultory exchange of arguments which sometimes became heated continued all day. Mr. A. R. McMaster displayed his bilingual talents by addressing the House in excellent French, and Mr. Morphy interrogated him in the same language to the great delight of the Quebec members. Mr. Boyce, of Carleton, asked Mr. McMaster to repeat his speech in English, but the Chairman ruled this was not permissible. In the evening, Mr. Lemieux made a long speech in which he reviewed the whole language question. He made the point that the proclamation was an election document, part of the records of the House and should therefore be printed in both languages. Mr. Guthrie contested this view by saying that the Clerk in Chancery was not an officer of the Crown but of Parliament, and was told by Mr. Lemieux that "it was an argument unworthy of the traditions of the party to which the Solicitor-General once belonged." Mr. Fernand Rinfret, the new member for the St. James Division of Montreal, made an excellent speech in English in support of the amendment. Mr. Jacobs told the Government they would strengthen their position in Quebec if they would show more diplomacy and concede a reasonable and harmless request of the French members. Mr. Turgeon eventually

withdrew his amendment and substitute another asking that in districts where there was a majority of French-speaking electors, the proclamation should be issued in French, but it was lost by 63 to 38, the progressives voting with the Opposition.

On Wednesday, the Franchise Bill was still the chief ingredient in the Bill of fare and the day's discussion practically centred round a proposal of Mr. W. S. Fielding, that in Nova Scotia at least, the provincial lists should be used. That strange being Mr. R. H. Butts, of Cape Breton, seized the opportunity to indulge in a fierce attack upon Mr. Fielding, and resurrect some of the hidden skeletons of Nova Scotia provincial politics which are better kept concealed by the mists of antiquity. There was a heated dispute between Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Pardee about "plugged" votes. Mr. Guthrie indulged in some pleasant-ries which Mr. Pardee resented and the incident had to be closed by an apology from the former. The Government declined to accede to Mr. Fielding's suggestion. Mr. Guthrie stated that the chief electoral officer would have the decision as to which districts were rural and which were urban. The Bill is making slow, but steady progress, but it will now be held up by the Budget which is definitely fixed for Tuesday, the 18th. Thursday being Ascension Day was a holiday for Parliament, and as most of the Quebec members went home for the weekend, there was a very meagre attendance on Friday, when Dr. Tolmie occupied the floor with the estimates of the Department of Agriculture. Dr.

Tolmie is not a political genius, but he is a most likeable man and has a find of shrewd common sense which is deplorably lacking in many of his colleagues. He is popular with all parties in the House, and while there were a few criticisms of his department, there were more compliments. Both Mr. Crerar, his predecessor, and Mr. Fielding had kinds words to say on the excellent outline which he had presented to the House of the work of his department. There was one interesting interlude when by the introduction of a railway item Mr. Cahill was allowed permission to make a statement about the lawsuit with which he is threatened by Mr. D. B. Hanna, President of the Canadian National Railways. Mr. Cahill stated that the writ had not yet arrived and that he was ready. Mr. Hanna objects to a statement of Mr. Cahill that he has used his position as chief executive of the National Railways to benefit a town named after himself, in whose lots he was interested, and Mr. Cahill proceeded to prove to the House that if Mr. Hanna was not personally interested in the said townsite, he was President of the Canadian Northern Properties Co. which owns most of the townsite of Hanna. He also made some interesting revelations about the connection which the Mackenzie-Mann fraternity contrive to maintain with the National Railway system. Dr. Reid made a heroic effort to explain away the charges, but as is usual with Dr. Reid's explanations, it did not usually improve matters much for Mr. Hanna.

J. A. Stevenson.

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